

**INSIDE: A Stratford Festival of fantasy and escapism**

# Maclean's

JUNE 25, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

## Turner Faces the Future

**Behind the scenes  
at the convention**

**The race toward  
the next election**

**Prime Minister-designate  
John Napier Turner**



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# Maclean's

JUNE 15, 1994 VOL. 30 NO. 24

## COVER

### Turner faces the future

The man who will replace Pierre Trudeau as Prime Minister June 30 must now make critical decisions. John Turner will choose a cabinet, appoint senior advisers and probably decide on an election date as which he will have to face Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney. Meanwhile, the six men Turner defeated face uncertain futures — *Page 12*

COVER PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE/GETTY IMAGES



### A vote without feeling

Leaders of the 18 member nations of the European Parliament nervously await the voter response to elections for class to their domestic popularity. — *Page 22*



### A vision of extravagance

Last week, when the Stratford Festival launched a new season streaming romantic comedy, it almost banished concerns about its mounting problems — *Page 37*



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### A question of bilingualism

Manitoba's language conflict has reached the Supreme Court, where the arguments may make legal history and test the court's authority. — *Page 25*



### Zuckerman and U.S. News

Montreal-born entrepreneur Mortimer Zuckerman extended his fledgling media empire last week when he bought U.S. News and World Report. — *Page 46*



## LETTERS

### The 40th year

Your feature on D-Day (*Operation Overlord*, Cover, June 11) shows that only those who lived and fought through the Second World War understand how what it was all about. It was a war against the idea of dictatorship. You talk of "young men who were safely full of the romance of war." (A terribly common. From the Editor's Desk!) The mood of those who fought in the Second World War was grim. Battered in the aftermath of the First World War, where mass carnage destroyed all notion of glory, we faced only grim severity. Our mood was one of anger at the military dictatorship of Mussolini and Hitler, let us finish them once and for all. Well we did. But not for romance. —RUBEN CARILL, Victoria



Over a war against dictatorships

#### Persecution and aggression

In these no end to Barbara Aron's right-wing expertise on every issue in Canadian society (*Persecution* as a Jew-hater too, Column, June 11)? There are numerous studies that demonstrate the link between violent pornography and real-life aggression. Repeated studies have confirmed that television violence increases the aggressive behavior in children. Modeling and observation are methods from which we learn. Not all men who read violent pornography will beat and rape women, but for the person who has the propensity violent pornography acts as a catalyst. Constant violent pornography is not informing on an individual's rights, because we owe him the right to make or use material that can incite violence against another individual or group—in this case, violence against women and children. —CATHERINE RAUHALA, Ottawa

#### By any other name

The article about the Canadian Green Party (*The struggling Greens*, Follow-up, June 4) followed up only the minority one-third of 388 delegates to the First National Green Convention. The unopposed majority of Greens is distributed with 19th-century political ways because they cannot solve 20th-century problems. We are joining with friends to find nonviolent, democratic and rational solutions to the problems that threaten us all. The Green by any other name continue to grow exponentially. The news media are just not looking in the right places. —JANIS KOSKOVSKY, Belvidere, Ont.

## PASSAGES

**DEED** Enrico Berlinguer, 68, head of Italy's powerful Communist party, after he suffered a brain hemorrhage, in Padua (page 38).

**DEED** William Mahoney, 67, one of the most influential forces in the Canadian labor movement, of a heart attack, in Mississauga, Ont. Mahoney, who started as a time clocker at 17 in a steel mill, rose to become the Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America, a position that he held from 1969 to 1984. He received the Congressional Medal in 1987 and the Order of Canada in 1978. Said his son Steven Mahoney: "Labour was his love and his passion. He has been dedicated to the labour movement and the betterment of the working man for all of his years."

**DEED** 66-year-old Eric Middleton, from complications following a liver transplant performed in Minnesota four months ago, in Windsor, Ont. "Ricky Eric" became known across North America after his parents launched a nationwide wild appeal—with the help of celebrities including Wayne Gretzky and Maurice Richard—for a son's organ.

**DEED** Margaret Perrine, 85, the pioneering crossword puzzle writer and editor, in New York. Crossword puzzle editor for *The New York Times* from 1961 until her retirement in 1980, Perrine began her wordsmith career in 1929 as secretary to John O'Hara Cowgine, Sunday editor of *The New York World*, the newspaper that had published the first crossword puzzle in 1911. Perrine's original crossword book, published in 1984, sold 350,000 copies in the first year. Until her death, Perrine continued to write two puzzle books a year, and edit puzzles for the *Los Angeles Times* syndicate.

**DEED** American composer Meredith Willson, in Santa Monica, Calif. An accomplished poet and pianist player, Willson was best-known for his music and lyrics for the hit Broadway shows *The Music Man* and *The Unforgettable Molly Brown*.

**RECORDED** conductor and Academy Award-winning composer John Williams, 58, as music director of the Boston Pops Orchestra. An eclectic musical stylist, Williams has scored sections for the scores he composed for *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Star Wars* and *Superman*. Director of the Boston Pops since 1989 when he succeeded the late Arthur Fiedler, Williams has been facing growing concern over the lack of discipline within the famous orchestra.

## Crime and punishment

Regarding Stern justice for a bomber (Canada, May 28) justice for a bomber is a source of concern for most people, and almost all of them feel helpless and powerless because of the scarcity of the position. One solution to political impotence is action, but after the potential failure of constitutional-reforming forces employed by the peace movement, some people are provoked by the logic of circumstances to civil disobedience—certainly a more powerful statement even if the message is misinterpreted and misrepresented in the media. In that respect I think that Juliet Belman and the Canadian public have been done a disservice by your magazine. Her act was intended to draw attention to the irresponsibility of Litton Systems in its manufacture of guidance systems for cruise missiles, not to kill or injure people. It is sad that Belman has been sentenced to 30 years behind bars, while the irresponsibility of Litton Systems in the human race is again left unrecognized, let alone unpunished.

—B.A. STEWART, Winnipeg

Juliet Belman has been given a jail sentence of 30 years in order to stop her behavior in the infancy. Yet sentences for rapists may be as short as one week.

A woman who fights against nuclear arms receives a more severe punishment than a man who violently rapes or one who commits incest. It seems as though our system is teaching us through its actions that if you go against the government you will regret it. Perhaps Belman went about her goal wrongly, but she should be honored for having such a goal. —BETH ROSEN, Edmonton

## A 'chairbome revolutionary'

Manja Jagger contradicts herself (*From rock 'n' roll to revolution*, Q&A, May 21). She first condemns the Saskatchewan's control of the Independent Oil Producers' "abuse of power" through rigid and bureaucratic censorship, later, however, she talks about how free the Saskatchewan press is. The frequency and tolerance of public expression of views contrary to those of the ruling parties is the real indicator of freedom of speech and expression, not the Communist concept of "freedom" to read, see and think only what the state feels is good for the people. She says that Manjaga needs democratic institutions while maintaining that elections can't help the plight of its people. How does she intend those democratic institutions to be created? If Jagger thinks the revolution in Saskatchewan is viable and right, why does she not

leave the lap of the "imperialist aggressors" to help out the Saskatchewan instead of preaching from her soapbox of perquisites and laureates? Anypody can be a "chairbome revolutionary" on a full stomach in a free society just to be able, but being one where it counts is a little bit tougher.

—JIMMY FREEDER, Thunder Bay, Ont.

## A not-so-long distance

What value is there in the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) allowing competition on lucrative long-distance routes when all it will do is increase the cost of basic phone service (Long distance at a discount, *Business/Economy*, May 21)? The users will still bear the cost in the long run. Taking that route in the United States has caused local service charges to double and, in some areas, triple and it is virtually destroying one of the greatest telephone systems in the world. Can the CRTC in its wisdom be far bettered? —J.L. KELLS, Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence to *Letters to the Editor*, Maclean's magazine, 1000 Bloor Street West, 7th floor, Toronto, Ont. M6H 1A7.

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## A widow fights on

Jihan Sadat, widow of the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, who was assassinated in October, 1982, remains one of the most influential women in the Arab world. Her active promotion of women's rights has created controversy within her own country and has attracted attention from women in more conservative Arab nations. A lecturer in Arabic literature at Cairo University, Sadat is currently working on her Ph.D. thesis. She recently spoke with Maclean's correspondent Charles Greenfield at her heavily guarded Cairo home.

**Maclean's:** Were there any predictions of death before your husband's assassination?

**Sadat:** I had them and he was aware of them. The moment he went to Jerusalem for his peace mission in 1977, I knew that he was going to be killed—this was a fact. When it would come and how it would take place, I did not know. Each time he left our country to travel abroad, I was worried inside. I never wanted to show him my feelings. I remember the last week before the assas-



Sadat: 'I do not feel bitterness at all'

sination he told me, 'Jihana, I want you to fulfil your activities for a while because I am worried about the families.' He took measures, as you know, and put some of them in prison. Then he phoned the security chief and ordered more bodyguards for the family.

**Maclean's:** Where were you when the assassination took place?

**Sadat:** I was in the stands in Cairo watching the parade with my grandchildren. But I do not feel any bitterness at all. Later, I was studying in my office, and then the phone rang with news that the families who killed Anwar had been put to death. I stopped my work; I could not continue. I was wondering, 'Am I happy they have been put to death? Am I sorry for them? No! Do I feel revenge? No, I do not feel that either.' I said to myself, 'It is God's will.'

**Maclean's:** How the benefits of the Camp David treaty have deepened somewhat by the political realities of the Arab world?

**Sadat:** I have heard these stories about Egypt 'cooling off' with Israel recently. The stories come from Israel because of that country's fear of a change in policy on the part of Egypt. I assure you that even if it is cool, it is much better than nothing at all. Imagine if Israel had this relationship with Jordan and Syria. Each week I visit the town of my husband, and a few weeks ago there was a

commemoration and his crew there from Israel. The commemoration was originally an Egyptian Jew and he asked me to perform Arabic about the recent problems between Egypt and Israel. I said to him 'Look, you are an Israeli man here in Egypt with Israeli television. That shows progress where there was none before. It means a lot. It wasn't like that before, we could not even agree to meet each other.' If there are obstacles this year or next year, they will be, in my opinion, something to be overcome.

**Maclean's:** What is a woman's role in current Egyptian society?

**Sadat:** She wants her rights and she wants equality. And that is what I nagged my husband about, and it sometimes made him furious. I felt as an Egyptian woman that no one would give us our rights better than Anwar. He was broad-minded enough to understand the crucial role of women in Egyptian society and how difficult it was to achieve these changes in a religious, traditional country in the process of developing. Islam gave us rights 1,400 years ago that were given to Western women by law much later on. For instance, our Prophet Mohammed gave women the right to sell and buy property without their husbands' permission 1,400 years ago. In recent legislation, in what we call civil rights law, Egyptian women—especially divorced women—were given the

right to have their children remain with their mother. And the bonus of apartment that previously went to the man in a divorce settlement now goes to the woman. This is making many men furious, and I do not mind at all being the target of this attack. I am also very proud that women are now being represented in parliament. A change in Egyptian election law has resulted in 38 of the 448 parliamentary seats being set aside for women representatives.

**Maclean's:** How urgent is the problem of overbreeding and family planning?

**Sadat:** We have more than 45 million people in this country. In 30 years we will have more than 70 million. The frightening thing is that 42 per cent of our population is under the age of 15. It is not like China here in Egypt. The government over there has orders as child per family. Egypt is a very religious country and the Copts, for example, are even more fanatic than the Muslims on having large families. That is probably because they are a minority and by following family planning their numbers would dwindle. But, despite traditional values, the government is making some progress. Television and radio are beginning to reach the masses. But it is at the grassroots level where it counts the most—as the villages I helped to integrate family planning groups, and we would go to the clinics in

the villages. In some villages the main obstacle to birth control information was the doctor himself. So, finally, we were able to replace him and introduce a woman nurse and that made a big difference. Another important factor was turning over the clinics, convincing them at least not to preach against family planning.

**Maclean's:** What does Egypt mean to the Third World?

**Sadat:** I think we are admired by many Third World countries. But it is not truly accurate to say that we are a Third World country. We have a rich history and heritage that goes back over 4,000 years. We are quite advanced. We have had radio here for more than 50 years. There is industry, some of which is very modern. Students from the entire Arab world come to Egypt to study, and our technicians and teachers work throughout the Middle East. In Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries 70 per cent of the university teachers are Egyptian. The same holds true for a large percentage of their nurses, doctors and technicians in hospitals. We are exporting our brain power. We are not a rich country with oil, but we are rich in our people. We have few resources except the people themselves. We Egyptians have to rely on our imagination and creativity. We are now looking forward to satellites and reclaiming the desert. ☐

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## FOLLOW-UP

## The lottery campaigner

Mary English, a strong-willed Calgary grandmother, was a committed adviser of the Irish Sweepstakes, which raises millions of dollars a year for hospitals and medical research. As a result, in February, 1993, English died just as her age-covered "Operation Canada Sweepstakes" car had travelled \$54,000 km across the country gathering about 500,000 signatures in support of local Canadian lotteries. She presented her petition to then-Justice Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau Jan. 13, 1978. But English, now 75 and living in Vernon, B.C., is still crusading because, she says, only a small percentage of the \$500 million in net revenues that Canadian lotteries raise actually goes for medical purposes. "I am disgusted," she said, after spending her life's savings of \$10,000 on her campaign. "All my efforts were in vain. There are no hospital lotteries."

The lottery money is difficult to trace because each province decides independently how to spend it. Quebec and the Atlantic provinces combine lottery revenues with general revenues and use them for projects ranging from highway repair to police salaries. Ontario is the western province to directly direct lottery profits into areas that general taxation does not normally fund, including senior sports, culture and the arts, major exhibitions like Vancouver's Expo 86 and the Calgary Stampede, with almost nothing going to medical research. Lottery officials say that because medical expenses are so high, using lottery revenues to pay them, although noble in theory, has no practical application.

For her part, English says that she is trying to reward staff for the attention she received in Vernon's Justice Hospital after she suffered multiple injuries in a serious automobile accident three years ago. She is attempting to raise \$15,000 to buy two pieces of equipment for the hospital's gastrointestinal laboratory. And she wants that money to come from lotteries. Said English: "I know lotteries cannot finance hospitals, but they can buy equipment." English has always worked to aid the sick, first as a cook and kitchen manager in British and Canadian hospitals and now as a fund raiser. "I am still fighting," she said. But she added, "I do not know whether I will ever achieve my goal."

—GORDON LINDSEY in Calgary

## A room in the gentlemen's jail

Nestled in the picturesque Allegheny Mountains just south of the historic 18th-century city of Williamsport is Pennsylvania's midwestern security Allegheny prison camp. It has no bars, no barred windows and no high walls around it. In country-shrub surroundings, the inmates are simply expected to behave. It is a gentlemen's jail. And for the past two weeks the authorities have been preparing a place for Rev. Sam Myung Moon, who is expected to spend at least the next year there for a \$100,000 sex fraud. His appeals court, the 64-year-old bishop, said the United Church (whose members are known as Moonies) was due to report to federal marshals in New York City next month Justice department officials are prohibited by law from saying which prison space is going to, but looks to the press made it clear that Moon was expected at Allegheny.

Allegheny's alumni include G. Gordon Liddy and Jeb Maguire, who drew attention for their roles in the Watergate affair. Among the prison's current inmates are Pennsylvania Democratic congressman Michael Myers and Republican Governor and New Jersey Democratic Senator Harrison Williams, who were convicted of bribery and corruption in the 1980 Abramoff scandal. The tone and flavor of the company that Moon will have in Allegheny is evident from the fact that *The Wall Street Journal* sells more copies there than in any community of similar size in Pennsylvania. But Moon's problem will be reading it. The native Korean, whose church owns *The Washington Times*, speaks almost no English.

Allegheny's prisoners arrive at 7:30 a.m. Their first job is to tend to hundreds of cattle on a nearby 4,500-acre farm or help in the prison furniture factory, which has an exclusive contract to produce high-quality furniture for the White House. Moon was fined \$10,000 and sentenced to an 18-month prison term, after he was convicted in May, 1992, on 13 charges of offering false income tax returns, plotting to evade taxes and obstructing justice by seeking to frustrate the federal investigation of what the Justice department considered were his personal finances. Last month the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case.

In his appeal, Moon contended that the referee case against him has been affected by what he described as profound public hostility. He also claims that he has had conversations with Jesus, Moses and Buddha, and those statements have led to widespread accusations that he leads a cult—not a legitimate church. His critics point out



Moon: no walls, bars or barred wire

that his followers are generally almost young men and women from middle-class homes who break family ties and traditions to preach on street corners and sell candy, flowers and trinkets to raise money for the church. Many parents of Moonies maintain that their children have been brainwashed.

Moon, whose church claims a membership of three million, with 500,000 in Korea, and over 40,000 in the United States and Canada, began a widespread recruitment drive in North America in 1970. And while his followers existed in near poverty, Moon lived in luxury in a 25-room mansion in Irvington, N.Y., with his second wife, Hwa In Han, and their 13 children. He also spent much of his time flitting from a 50-foot cabin cruiser. His home has extraordinary security arrangements, including 24 surveillance cameras placed about every 45 m along the fenced perimeter of the estate. Guards rush out each time a camera picks up someone walking nearby. Indeed, Moon's own home is much more closely guarded than Allegheny, and some members of Moon's church say that he may not be safe in the prison camp. They say they fear a angry mob of some of his followers might try to break in and attack him. But a Justice department official declined, "It is a ridiculous idea."

—WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

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## Baseball's unbeatable record

In the 1880s, when the New York Yankees' pitching roster listed such ace as Wilkes Ford and Albin Reynolds, a journeyman right-hander carved a special place for himself that still stands in the record books. On Oct. 8, 1904, 29-year-old Dan Larnen pitched the only perfect game in World Series history. Over six innings he retired 27 of the sub-viral Brooklyn Dodgers in order, and, with the help of a Mickey Vernon home run, the Yankees won the

5th game of the series 3-0 (his team went on to capture the championship four games to three). But Larnen's term at the top was short-lived, and he now lives in relative obscurity in San Jose, Calif., where he works as a salesman for a paper products company.

Before his victorious afternoon nothing in Larnen's record had indicated his potential talent. Two years earlier he had suffered through a jaw-breaking season of three wins and 21 losses. Just

three days before his perfect game, in the second game of the World Series, various Dodgers had hit Larnen's curve ball so effectively that Yankee manager Casey Stengel had replaced him in the second inning. In fact, baseball legend has it that Larnen's famous game was the inspired product of a hangover.

Clearly, luck, which had so often deserted him in the past, was on Larnen's side that October afternoon. Dodger left-fielder Sandy Amerson blasted a home run that landed like a mere house run until it hooked foul at the last moment. Jackie Robinson's line drive popped out of Yankee third baseman Andy Carey's glove—but shortstop Gid McDonald scooped it up for the out. By the top of the sixth inning, with Dodger power hitters Carl Pavano and Ray Chapman scheduled to bat, even the normally vocal pitcher was worried. Reminded Larnen: "I was so nervous I almost fell down. My legs were rubbery, and my fingers didn't feel like they were on my hand. I said to myself, 'These somebody help me out.' But Larnen did not need any assistance. Pavano fled out, and Chapman grounded out. When Larnen struck out pinch hitter Duke Marshall to end the game, pandemic knee brace loosens.

But Larnen had little time to enjoy his newfound popularity. Indeed, the publicity proved to be an embarrassment. Three wife reports that an estranged son and the couple's daughter were not getting support payments from the pitcher. But Larnen said those stories and the reported intervention of baseball commissioner Ford Frick to convince him to send money to his wife were "baseless." Larnen's troubles did not end there. The Yankees traded him three years later to the Kansas City Athletics, who passed him along to the Chicago White Sox. From there Larnen's itinerant took him to San Francisco, Toronto, Baltimore and Chicago. In 1907, after 14 years in the major leagues, Larnen retired with an undistinguished record of 43 wins and 90 losses.

In contrast to his peripatetic baseball career, Larnen greatly boasts that he has held his present sales job ever since he retired from the mound. Now 54, married to a surgical nurse and the father of a 21-year-old son, Larnen readily acknowledges that he is no longer physically fit to play baseball. Still, he remains active enough to test his several kinds of mood drinks at the same sitting. "It's nothing like the old days," he said of his drinking capacity. "I am out of training for that kind of thing now." Still, he never forgets that some spectators will knock him out of the record books. "They can equal my record," he pointed out, "but there is no way anybody can do it better."

—RITA CHRISTOPHER in New York



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## A president's monument

Over the past 20 years the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan has risen like a gleaming Manhattan from the shifting sands of a quest for peace. But measured against even that West African city's ambitious standards, a local project due for completion next spring is extraordinary. It is a

gigantic, boldly designed cathedral which, with 4,000 seats, will be the world's second-largest Roman Catholic church in capacity, surpassed only by St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. At a cost of \$15.2 million, the new Cathedral of St. Paul will mark another extravagant expenditure by the flamboyant regime of

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The staunchly Catholic president, who envisages the cathedral as a national as well as a religious monument, took personal responsibility for its completion as long ago as 1968, eight years after he assumed office.

Catholics are a minority of roughly one million in a predominantly rural population of eight million, most of whom still adheres to traditional beliefs. But criticism of the expensive project has been subdued. And when objections are raised, church officials respond by referring to precedents set centuries ago when European heads of state ordered the construction of grand cathedrals in their emerging nations. Said Mgr. Paul Doucouly of the Abidjan diocese: "Why should Africans not do this as well?" Funding for the church comes from a new diocesan religious tax, as well as donations from wealthy Catholics, including Houphouët-Boigny.

Pope John Paul II bestowed his approval on the project when he laid the cathedral's cornerstone during his tour of Africa in 1983. Since then, crews working for the Paris-based Italian Construction Co. have been working around the clock to finish the cathedral in time to open next Easter. In Milan, artisan families highly skilled in making stained-glass windows have been painstakingly designing plans for the new cathedral, while other Italians from across the globe are preparing to ship tons of marble for the interior. Houphouët-Boigny chose Italian architect Aldo Spiris to design the cathedral. Spiris's earlier work included skyscrapers in Tokyo, participation in the design of the Twin World Trade Center towers in New York and an airport in Sudan. Spiris describes the cathedral as an evangelical work of art that will draw people to the faith.

An engineer as well as an architect, Spiris has extensive aerial, major construction problems. The 1,000-square-metre roof—almost as new—will be the largest solid surface ever built with supports only on the periphery. Its 1,000-ton weight will be held intact by seven 250-foot-long hollow girders stabilised by seven massive cables. As well, some critics thought that a bell tower leaned so much that it would be impossible to build. Indeed, skeptics watching the project from a hill overlooking Abidjan have been phoning bets on when it will plunge into the lagoon.

Ivorian church officials hope that the cathedral will indeed be a symbol that will attract more people to Catholicism. But as they look around their modest, 500-seat cathedral on a Sunday, many Catholics must wonder whether or not putting millions of dollars into marble and mortar is the best way of freeing people to their religion.

—Eric Dotson in Abidjan.

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### COLUMN

## Brilliance can be dangerous

By Charles Gordon

**N**ow that he is the next federal justice, the Prime Minister you elect is not going to be a brilliant man. You might as well get used to that. Canada has been governed by a brilliant man for the past 16 years, after the death of the election class, Canada will be governed by a man who is merely smart.

Will that be enough? People worry about it. Will he be bright enough, they ask. How will he be when he represents us in foreign countries? Will he say something hopefully smart? Will he be the wrong kind? Will he come instead of him?

How will he look? The worry about how we appear to others is part of a general Canadian insecurity that has led us into such undertakings as launch Elton John, social-and-light shows on Parliament Hill, domed stadiums and beer in the ball park, all impelled by anxiety over image. It is part of the reason we sometimes think of shoddy a film and decent way of going about it—because some foreigners have been known to find it dull.

We want the people who represent us in the world to make an impression, to dazzle. Pierre Trudeau, even when he was least popular at home, always earned our grudging respect for how he behaved abroad. Trudeau was a class act, he was brilliant. Whereas Joe Clark? How would Joe Clark look over there, people asked. Brian Mulroney? Any Liberal after Trudeau? Were these any help at all?

Joe Clark is best remembered for the stumble of the world that he took before he became Prime Minister. In fact, even in office, Clark did well. His only venture into Scottsdale, Tokyo in 1978, was a successful performance. Reporters and officials were impressed by Clark's ability to absorb information and profit from the briefings he received.

We might have learned that that brilliance is not necessary. Surely, if you will permit the grammar, it. When you think of it, there are few ranking geniuses on the world stage. The world leaders who are most important to us are Ronald Reagan, whose intellect is not widely considered to be his big suit, and Margaret Thatcher, who is not perceived as a rocket scientist even by her strongest supporters.

There is nothing new about this state of intellectual affairs. The great Western empires of this century—Churchill,

Roosevelt and, in our country, King and Pearson—have been known more for their political acumen than for their intellectual prowess. For all his impressive programs, he was not considered a brilliant man. In fact, his enemies found him to be a low sort of machine politician. Arguably, the two brightest American politicians of the century, Woodrow Wilson and Henry Carter, were both brought low by their stubbornness, their inability to delegate and, perhaps most important of all, their unwillingness to compromise on their brilliant ideas.

That may sound familiar to Canadians who have watched their government over the past 16 years. The brilliant leader gets himself and his country into trouble because he can understand why he is right but he is unable to see why others cannot. Often, the brilliant ideas upon which he is stalling to compromise are his own, which makes them

***'Psychologists, even, cannot agree whether pornography causes sexual violence or, instead, diminishes it'***

harder to give up.

The out-of-the-blue, politician gets his ideas from others. To him, they are not written in stone. He can give this little bit here away, in exchange for that. He can hear what others are saying, he can get something in return. If he needs an opinion from a really smart person, he knows where to find one.

The addition, when it emerges, does not earn high marks for artistic impression. There are people who, in the past, a couple of odd-looking things—perhaps added on to the sides. But it is better than nothing. The brilliant man's solution looks beautiful, but it is under glass somewhere, and no one will see it.

When brilliant men sail down in elegant and lofty surroundings to put together a new Constitution for Canada, nothing happened. It was only when some not-so-brilliant men got together late at night and whipped something together is a kitchen that a Constitution emerged. The document is not a work of art and has been rejected on aesthetic grounds by those who object to seeing reflective tape and leader tapers. But it is there.

Pearson was often portrayed by the

media as a bumbler. If there was brilliance there it did not shine. He did not always look good while listening in such things as the flag, the Canada Pension Plan, madness and taking the first steps toward bilingualism. His was the political equivalent of winning ugly. But it was winning. Pearson got things done, not by being brilliant but by being a man able to work with people and listen to them.

What people preoccupied with high intellect forget is that there are no brilliant solutions, despite the best efforts of brilliant men. When brilliant men search for brilliant solutions in difficult problems, they disagree. That isn't much help.

Economists are brilliant, not to mention well educated in business institutions all over the world. They have studied how the economy works. Yet they cannot agree on whether the dollar should be allowed to slide in value or whether its value, such as it is, should be maintained. They cannot agree on whether interest rates should be kept high to keep inflation in check or whether they should be dropped to increase employment. They cannot even agree on whether high interest rates drive inflation or cause it. Yet these are brilliant men.

There are many brilliant psychologists. They cannot agree on whether pornography causes sexual violence or serves as a safety valve, diminishing sexual violence. There are brilliant criminologists who disagree on whether longer prison terms are valuable as a deterrent to crime or dangerous because they make the explosive problem of overcrowded prisons even worse.

Surrounded by brilliant advice, plagued by a dearth of brilliant solutions, the politician has only one idea to what people advise, measure what the public wants and try to come up with something that will offend as few voters as possible.

To do so effectively requires intelligence, it is true. But the best of books ever compiled will be of no use to a leader too stupid to understand the words in it. The finest advisers in the world will not help those who cannot comprehend what they advise. And it helps to be able to hear, as well as listen. We have never known anyone without it before. We will survive, maybe even prosper, without it again.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ontario Times.



## TURNER FACE THE FUTURE

By Carol Gear

The floor of the sweltering arena where John Napier Turner had just been proclaimed Canada's next Prime Minister was littered with the shards of battle when the Liberal leader climbed to the podium late Saturday night for his first news conference. Already, he had changed. The wooden, nervous candidate of the campaign trail was transformed. Turner the clear was relaxed, friendly and ready to let down his guard and laugh at himself. A reporter with a long memory reminded him that it had taken two tries to win the Liberal leadership—once as a brash young cabinet minister of 38, who told his party that it was "no time for middle men," and how as an affable 55-year-old Toronto lawyer who pledged a new era of harmony and healing. Then, he asked Turner what he had done differently the second time. Replied the new leader: "Well, I guess I was 16 years calmer."

The Liberal party had changed too. The 1,800 delegates who propelled Turner to an unsuccessful second-ballot win were looking for a leader who offered predictability and accountability. Sixteen years of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's stimulating—but often unpopular—leadership had left many of them disillusioned. They were ready for a respite from challenge and confrontation. Still, they wanted their first leadership convention since 1969 to be a contest, not a coronation. And the six-hour competition did turn out to be a genuine, if unevenly matched, showdown.

**Jubilant** The Toronto was Turner, who to many Liberals became a crown prince in exile after he resigned from Trudeau's cabinet in 1975, and Parliament in 1977, to pursue a law career in Toronto. His strongest challenger was Energy Minister Jean Chrétien, the self-styled underdog and champion of the little guy. There was never any real doubt about the outcome of last Saturday's leadership convention. But even when Turner was, as most Liberals expected, there was little sense of jubilation or wonder. Said Tom Arverby, Trudeau's principal secretary: "In 1969 there was a tremendous sense of excitement, the coming of a new era. I don't get the same sense of urgency in this convention."

For the seven leadership contenders it was a long day of intense personal drama. A hapless Turner left the Ot-



tawa Civic Centre for a night of celebration and adulation, but the six defeated cabinet ministers departed exhausted and—in most cases— unsure about what their futures held. Turner made it clear that he would welcome Chrétien into his cabinet, but the 56-year-old Quebec lawyer avoided offering his new boss a firm commitment to join his team.

The only other candidate who saw his way to a place in Turner's inner circle is Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston, who refused to drop out of the race and finished third. By renouncing on the second ballot, he effectively handed Turner the leadership, something any chance of a snap Turner coalition. But Turner did not give the other five finalists any promises. Justice Minister Mark MacLennan, the only contender to join the Turner camp at the convention, was told that he, like most of the 20 cabinet ministers who supported the winner, would have to wait and see if there was a place for him. Employment Minister John Roberts, Indian Affairs Minister John Manors and Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan face perhaps the most uncertain futures of all.

**Snappings** The transition took facing all of them in to bury their rivalry and prepare for an election that could take place within two months. Turner himself suggested at a last-night victory party on Saturday that he is leaving toward a summer election. "Let's have fun, let's take a little rest," he told campaign managers from all the camps. There was added, "You never know what might happen." Then, party president Lisa Campbell added to the mood of exuberance when she grasped his hand and kissed it in a display of solidarity. "John and I are going to join hands and go beating Tories," she said. "We're you join me?"

Turner is also clearly aware that he will be judged by voters, young people and the country's racial minorities on the success of his effort to improve their prospects in the marketplace. And one of his most exacting taskmasters will be his wife, Gail (page 26), who declared: "I'm going to try to influence [him] in whatever areas I feel he is not taking a strong enough position or areas that he is not paying attention to. He said he wanted an open party and he'd best include me in that too."

Turner met Trudeau to discuss the transfer of power Sunday. Now he enters a two-week period in which he will have to make critical decisions in order



MacGaughey (right): Turner, a solemn wit, a charmer, and minor's gesture and a profound psychological insight

## COVER

to master the job. Before his official swearing-in on June 30 he had to choose a cabinet, appoint a circle of senior advisors and probably decide on the election date. Turner had as early an encounter with the difficulties of cabinet-making three days before he became leader, when an ambitious aide, John Swift of Vancouver, disclosed that the future Prime Minister intended to eliminate 12 cabinet positions. With 19 Trudeau ministers then supporting his leadership, it was clear that some of them would have to be dropped if the report was accurate. For his part, Turner insisted that Swift's statement was unwarranted and that he had not given any thought to cabinet appointments. In fact, MacGaughey's heated, strategic within his organization had been examining possible cabinet candidates for weeks and they had already decided that several Trudeau ministers should be dropped and some portfolios eliminated.

The question of when to hold an election, expected this year, may be one of the most difficult for Turner to master. The most likely dates are Aug. 20 or 27 if he decides on a summer election and Nov. 12 or 19 if he waits until fall. Currently, the Liberals and Conservatives are so close in the polls that it is unclear

which of the two holds an advantage. The latest Gallup poll, conducted in early May, gave the Liberals a 45-to-48-per-cent advantage. But a larger survey, conducted by the Carleton University School of Journalism in early May, gave the Tories a 54-to-49 lead.

**Launched:** At the same time, Turner supporters have set up a special fund to help ease his passage from the leadership to the Prime Minister's Office. Early in the campaign fund-raising letters to hundreds of corporations and senior executives telling them that Turner would need money—apart from funds used to cover the cost of running—(He was the leadership. Bernard Laidlaw, Turner's chief Quebec fund-raiser, told MacGaughey that in fact two separate funds had been set up after Turner launched his leadership drive on March 14. One had a limit of \$1.6 million—the maximum allowed by the Liberal party to cover campaign costs. The second was a spillover fund, known as the transition fund, and it was used to absorb any donations above the legal limit.)

Laidlaw denied that any of the money would go to Turner directly. To suggest that, he declared, would be an "insult to John." Added Laidlaw: "Do you think that a man who died in Toronto for the past eight years would be worried about being out of a salary for a

couple of weeks?" Others take a different view. Michael Scott, vice-chairman of Wood Gundy Ltd. and Turner's chief Ontario fund-raiser, said that the new leader's personal finances "are a question that we must deal with, of course." The amount in the transition fund will not be known until the first election week is. But Laidlaw, for one, said that he had already passed the bookkeeping point in his own provision.

And if the campaign does not produce a surplus, he added, Turner's fund-raising team will launch another drive. Added Laidlaw: "Our people can't work for free. They have to buy groceries."

In his speech to the delegates Turner began with a tribute to Trudeau: "It will not be easy for any of us to succeed Pierre Elliott Trudeau as leader," he declared. Then he praised the Prime Minister's privation of the Constitution and his search for world peace. Across the arena, Trudeau clamped in his seat and nodded his acknowledgement of the praise. Turner went on to reassure workers, farmers, young people and ethnic minorities that he would respond to their needs. "Together we will win the next election," he pledged, adding that he would also revive the party in Western Canada.

Then Chretien strode onstage. His first salute was aimed at Terry Leander Brian MacInnes: "Brian, Brian," Chre-

tien said to MacInnes, who was watching the spectacle at the official Opposition leader's residence, Stornaway, with a few close friends. "Do not adjust your television set. What you see is what you are going to get." But Chretien's laudatory plans to delegates to vote "with your hearts" was not as effective as usual, and at times his delivery was flat, disappointing many delegates. The other candidates tried vainly to halt the Turner headwagon.

The convention started early. On Friday night, 36 hours before the balloting began, two critical meetings took place. At 9 p.m. 1987, while Chretien was delivering his speech at the Civic Centre, MacGaughey stopped away to meet one of his few prominent supporters, Edmonton Mayor Lawrence Deane. Deane told MacGaughey something that the justice minister already knew: he would desert MacGaughey, taking with him about 50 Alberta delegates after the first ballot, and throw his support to Turner. He urged MacGaughey to consider dropping out of the race and joining the Turner camp. But MacGaughey refused. He said that he could not disappoint his supporters at this late stage and that he did not want to lose his \$25,000 deposit by failing to contest the first ballot. But MacGaughey told Deane that if he was weak on the first ballot, he would go to Turner.

**Redness:** Later that evening Johnston and Chretien held a private session to discuss the possibility of a stop-Turner coalition. Johnston, exhilarated by the enthusiastic response to his speech and confident that he was securely in third place, said that he was not interested in such deals. The next day, before voting began, Johnston declared, "No deal has been made."

But when the 3,027 delegates assembled in the muggy arena, the tide had already turned. Johnston, in Turner's favor. Then, just before the voting started, Turner won a powerful endorsement. External Affairs Minister Allan Rock, who had told Turner earlier in the week that he would be available to resign if Johnston supported, solemnly walked to the candidates' box as Turner's supporters cheered. The camp's Opa Brethner had kept his mouth shut to the last minute. At 8 a.m. that morning Patrick Laidlaw, one of Chretien's key executives and a former MacGaughey aide, called the external affairs minister to solicit his support. When MacGaughey declined, Laidlaw said later, "I knew the fax was in." Still, the minister left Laidlaw with one clear message: he said that he might as publicly endorse Turner.

In the end, MacGaughey did. As he explained from Turner's box: "John Turner is the person who can lead the Liberal party to victory. He is the per-



Chretien wooing Johnston: the personal appeal ended with Chretien visibly drained

son, as Prime Minister, who can give the country confidence and steadfast leadership." For his part, a beaming Turner deserted MacGaughey's support as a "very significant addition to the campaign."

The Turner camp also had another advantage: heavyweights in reserve in case additional help was needed. Finance Minister Marc Lalonde. Earlier in the week a Turner organizer had persuaded Lalonde—he had been quietly helping them in Quebec—to endorse Turner publicly. That plan ran aground the day before the convention opened, when a Turner aide told reporters that Lalonde was one of the few Trudeau ministers who could have virtually any position he wanted in a Turner cabinet. Turner strategists were stunned by the statement. They then became concerned that if Lalonde came out in favor of Turner after the convention, it would look as if they had bought his support. The solution was to have the finance minister remain quietly on the sidelines as the voting took place, ready to go public only if Turner intended. He never did.

At 8:28 p.m. 1987 on Saturday, nearly half an hour behind schedule, the balloting began. Although the leadership residences used computers and sophisticated communications systems in their campaigns, at the convention

floor the actual balloting process was less sophisticated. Delegates fanned into 30 lines that snaked across the crowded convention floor in the voting booths they marked as I beside the candidate of their choice. Then, under the watchful eyes of scrutineers representing all the candidates, party officials counted the votes by hand. It was more than 2½ hours before Campagna announced the first-ballot results. Lloyd Axworthy took advantage of the delay to read Johnston's Decree in a scolding and commented the Turner-MacGaughey deal.

**Defeat:** In the Chretien camp, the usually irrepressible energy minister was looking tense and strained. When he arrived at the Civic Centre he claimed he had at least 1,000 votes. But MacGaughey's move, Deane's switch and reports of a shift by young Liberals to the Turner camp ran the Roberts delegation were taking their toll. Finally, at 9:07 p.m., Campagna went to the podium to read the numbers. With a total of 3,892 votes cast, Turner led with 1,990 (46 per cent)—just 128 short of a majority. Chretien was second with 1,067 votes (27 per cent), and Johnston was third with 529 (14 per cent). The remaining candidates were effectively out of the running—Roberts with a disappointing 180, MacGaughey with only 130, Munro with a meagre 80 and Williams with



Turner supporters: wanting the convention to be a contest but not a coronation

## COVER

just 84. At the run with the fewest votes, Whelan automatically left the race—although he had more than the maximum 35 votes to save his \$50,000 deposit.

The results cast a pall over the Christian camp. "We felt [200 votes]," said Lavelle grimly. "I cannot see any way we can do it." Christian refused to admit the inevitability of defeat, but the harsh reality was that it was virtually a mathematical impossibility for him to pick up enough delegate votes from other candidates to defeat Turner. Movements as the floor began almost immediately. The first shift came when MacGugan pushed his way through the crowd and crossed to the Turner box. The move was not a surprise. MacGugan had offered to play a role in a Turner campaign—after Trudeau's short-lived retirement in 1978. But Turner decided not to run, and Trudeau returned to fight, and win, the election. Still, the MacGugan-Turner connection had been established.

MacGugan began his trek to Turner's box at 5:15 p.m. It took him five minutes to press his way through throngs of delegates and reporters. Turner's director of campaign operations, Bill Lee, was flated. He stood be-

side Turner, gleefully passing the candidate's red-and-yellow buttons over the rail to the arriving converts.

In Mignolo's case there was never any doubt that his supporters would go to Christian—whatever their leader did. Ontario Liberal secretary Shelia Corpis, one of Mignolo's most prominent backers, said that "35 per cent of us will go to Christian, no matter what John does." Whelan's move to Christian was also widely expected—particularly after Whelan made his audacious move toward Turner's policies clear during the campaign. Turner supporters had also indicated that Whelan likely would be dropped from the cabinet if his candidate won.

**Stormed:** In the Roberts box, the decision-making after the first ballot was slow and painful. The employment minister knew that his support had slipped in the last two weeks of the campaign. His supporters, alarmed, said Johnston had overtaken their candidate in the fight for third place and they blamed the media

for ignoring Roberts. Such was sides. "We were being dismissed too easily." Within minutes of the first-ballot results, organizers from both the Johnston and Christian campaigns telephoned Roberts from their respective boxes, and a Turner emissary appeared in the Roberts delegation. The most difficult decision for Roberts was whether or not to stay in the race in the second ballot. He huddled with his top aides and provincial organizers, while supporters goaded, made utrating microphones. Finally, Roberts confronted the fact that he could not possibly win. He moved to Christian.

**Periphrasis:** At the same time, Johnston was under extreme pressure to join the movement to Christian. But, like Turner in 1985, he was determined to stay in the race until the end. That effectively guaranteed the leadership to Turner. Later, Turner revealed his own decision in 1985 and declared, "I understand Don Johnston very well indeed." Johnston, the senior magazine writer from Montreal, knew that he was destined to play a more prominent role in the new cabinet, regardless of his decision.

The periphrasis, short-sleeved Johnston smiled as a stream of Christian supporters went to his box to plead for his support. "The best thing for me to do," he said, "is to stay right where I am." Finally, Christian himself went to Johnston's section to try, with a personal appeal, to convince the economic development minister to move. Johnston's key supporters—Maurice Senné, Gilles Melgat, Mr. Bryce Mackenzie and former Saskatchewan cabinet minister Ollie Long—swore in to listen to the conversation. But the futile negotiations ended with Johnston shaking a youthful grin and Christian visibly crushed. In a conversation outside his private box, Johnston said MacGugan's that he was aware of the impact of his decision. "I do not expect it to go beyond this bubble," he said, acknowledging that he had dented Christian's chances.

By then, the Christian box had become the sitting for a fringe end to a quorum campaign. Christian's wife, Aline, almost casually clapped her hands in time to the music blaring in the arena. The candidate himself good-naturedly fielded questions from reporters. Down on the floor, Christian's policy adviser, Eddie Goldenberg, resorted to a base-

Roberts on the phone



Trudeau's original: the possibility of one last surprise by killing the Liberals

ball image. "It's the bottom of the earth, and there are two suits." Evoking Yankee manager Yogi Berra, Scott St. Pierre or Ron Irons declared, "It's not over till it's over." But the fans were leaving the box. Three of Christian's Quebec MPs—Alexandre Cyr, Basile Gendron and Rod Blaker—had quietly made their way to Turner.

When second-ballot voting started at 6:00 p.m., the atmosphere was virtually a frenzied confusion. During the two-hour wait for the voting and counting, the convention seemed to be winding down. In corridors and in clear sections of the convention floor, delegates had picked their worn and broken signs in piles. Finally, Champagne celebrated the result: Turner had won with 1,882 votes. Christian had 1,308—a gain of 301, a loss of 96 votes—and a slim but remarkable margin of 574. Turner ended with on the final ballot in 1985.

**Fellowship:** In the winner's section, Turner hugged Gault, kissed his daughter, Elizabeth, and pumped the hands of his closest advisers. Christian, without hesitation, headed toward the stage to pay tribute to the new leader. Champagne probably had captured the mood when the introduced Christian as "the man who fought so hard and came second—but first in our hearts." Then, Christian declared, "I will be forever grateful to these hundreds of delegates who worked so hard to try to get me elected." But the speech left an important question unanswered: Christian assured Turner that he could "count on" the Liberal party but he stopped short of offering the new leader his personal pledge that he would stay on his team.

For all its apparent ease, the transfer of power from Trudeau to Turner created strains which are largely foreign to the Liberal party. Unlike the last three Liberal leaders, Turner was not the design of senior members of the outgoing Prime Minister. Indeed, in spite of last week's spirit of fellowship, it is clear that the two men dislike each other. Turner loyalists are particularly concerned because Trudeau could undermine their leader again. As he prepares to leave office, the departing Prime Minister might surprise the country by killing all 12 members in the Senate. That would leave the new leader without a way to renew his friends and loyalists with a semblance of honor. But there are some more serious concerns—the concern of a future Prime Minister. And they are clearly overshadowed by the satisfaction of winning the leadership. Said Turner: "The delegates felt that the time was right for me."

With Mary Joann, Susan Riley, John Poir, Terry Armstrong, Anne G. Harte, Anthony Wilson Smith and Ann MacGregor



# Chrétien: the future is conditional

By Susan Riley

For Energy Minister Jean Chrétien the immediate future, at least, is clear: he and his wife, Alice, will attend their 10-year-old son Robert's high school graduation in Ottawa on Monday, then go to their cottage near Shawinigan for several days of rest. After a week of shouting himself hoarse in front of microphones—and three months of relentless travelling—Chrétien clearly needs the break. But what happens to him after that depends largely on John Turner. Turner said during the campaign that he hoped Chrétien would play a prominent role in any government he led, but Chrétien replied that he will not accept political crumbs. He repeatedly told reporters: "I will run again if conditions are appropriate. It will not be unconditional. I don't want to be junior for anyone else."

**Pe-wan:** But, unfortunately for Chrétien, there are only two important positions in cabinet that he has never held, and John Turner has just won one of them. The other is external affairs, now held by Allan Rock. Chrétien, Pierre Trudeau's deputy prime minister and the man who dealt Chrétien a blow by endorsing Turner just before Saturday's voting, Chrétien has served in eight portfolios in his 21 years in Ottawa—including the senior posts of finance, justice and energy. But the external affairs job under Turner, who describes himself as "internationally oriented," might not attract Chrétien anyway. Said one key supporter last week: "I don't think Chrétien would be interested unless he got assurances that he would be in charge."

Instead, Chrétien aides said that he might accept the post of deputy prime minister in a Turner cabinet, a role that has little bureaucratic power but great political significance. Turners created the job in 1977 for MacBrien. As deputy prime minister, Chrétien would become Turner's second-in-command and chair cabinet committees while Turner is away. Said Mitchell Sharp, a former external affairs minister and longtime Chrétien mentor: "He could still be the leading man in cabinet."

Chrétien would probably bring his characteristic boundless enthusiasm to the deputy prime minister's role. During campaigns such as he mentioned the endless pace he set during the whole campaign, an endless round of hand-shaking and impassioned speech-mak-



Chrétien and wife, Alice, after loss. Turner won't want to be a junior for anyone else.

ing. He won the hearts of Ottawa's taxi drivers—who, collectively, probably talked to more delegates than any campaign manager—by inviting them to a luncheon, featuring fine beer and smoked meat. And the personable and irrepressible Chrétien was the only candidate who regularly satisfied the delegates' hunger for humor and excitement. Said alternate youth delegate Kathy Mizault of Montreal: "Let's face it, without Jean Chrétien this thing would have been totally boring."

**Lepet:** Despite Chrétien's popularity in the party at large, he is not universally liked by members of the cabinet's Quebec caucus, most of whom supported Turner. As a result, Turner was unlikely to offer Chrétien the key post of Quebec lieutenant. Instead, the incoming Prime Minister was expected to tap André Gauthier, the labor minister, as a successor to Marc Lalonde. Last week Eddie Goldenberg, one of Chrétien's most loyal aides, said the only certain thing is that Chrétien

"won't accept just anything." It was considered unlikely that he would return to finance because of differences between himself and Turner over the federal deficit. Some Turner supporters suspected privately that Chrétien may be asked to continue in energy, because, as one of them said, "he is well liked by the energy sector."

But a key Chrétien adviser said that he is not likely to accept such an offer, if it is made—even if it were combined with the deputy prime minister role. Said one aide: "He is not going to be like [defunct leadership contender and former external affairs minister] Paul Martin in 1980, begging around as the freeman waiting for a job. He has too much pride." Chrétien himself has acknowledged that he might leave Ottawa to return to private life. He also rewarded listeners during the campaign that he is still a lawyer and, in a reference to the man who is now his boss, added, "They tell me you can make a lot of money in corporate law."

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# A 'ready' Mulroney watched

By Terry Hughes

Of all the Canadians from outside the Liberal party who watched the weekend leadership spectacle, none held as large a personal political stake in the outcome as Martin Brian Mulroney. A year ago the Progressive Conservatives, the same dusty Orange-Clad Centre, elected the Bloc Quebecois, Que., native to the Tory leadership as Joe Clark's successor. Since then, Mulroney has worked to prepare himself and his often divided party for the next federal election without knowing—until John Turner's moment of triumph on Saturday night—who his principal Liberal opponent would be.

That uncertainty was just one of the difficulties that Mulroney faced in his first year as Opposition leader—a year in which the former Prime of Canada president not only had to learn the ways of Parliament but had wounds that the party's replacement of a failed leader had inflicted. At the same time, Mulroney was forced to grapple with potentially explosive political issues, including the divisive controversy over Manitoba language rights early this year, which threatened to focus renewed attention on the Tories' own divisions. For the most part, his handling of the challenges has been sufficiently assured and politically astute to support his own evaluation of his performance. "The Liberals thought they would shatter me in the Commons," Mulroney declared recently. "But I have done very well, thank you very much."

Intrusion's still, the Tories passed the first anniversary of his leadership facing a deteriorating standing in the polls. The Tories slumped dramatically in the first Gallup poll taken after Pierre Trudeau announced his resignation on Feb. 29. And in the instant Gallup the Conservatives had the support of only 40 per cent of voters compared to 48 per cent for the Liberals. Perhaps even more alarming for Mulroney was a survey published on the eve of the Liberal convention in the Quebec City newspaper *Le Soleil*. The survey showed that support for the Conservatives in Quebec—the Tories only a few months ago had nurtured hopes of winning as many as 25 seats—had declined from a high of 38 per cent in February to 28 per cent in May. Over the same period Quebec support for the

Liberals rose to 61 per cent from 52 per cent. For his part, Mulroney dismissed the Liberals' new popularity as the short-term result of an "intrusion of an exceptional event—the resignation of Trudeau and the holding of a leadership convention."

Last week, just as the Liberal leadership contest began, Mulroney exposed one of his most impressive successes. He flew to St. John's and negotiated a new offshore deal for Newfoundland which would give the provin-

cepted. According to Terry Senator Lowell Murray, a former Joe Clark strategist, Turner's highly publicized campaign and errors made him appear less formidable. Reid Murray "Some guys were spooked by Turner but now they see after his goods how vulnerable he is." Added Conservative campaign chairman Samson Adams "Turner may have the party but Joe Clark has the most sympathy in the general public, and that may cause them [the Liberals] some problems."



Adrian: a party of energy and fragile alliances carefully managed by Mulroney

lose more control and a larger share of future revenues that Ottawa now offers. After weeks of quiet negotiation, Mulroney and Premier Brian Peckford signed an agreement that would trim the oil-rich offshore, in principle, as though it were part of the mainland. If Mulroney wins the next general election and the accord takes effect, it would represent a major breakthrough for Newfoundland by granting it the same development and resource rights that Alberta enjoys.

Looking forward to an election, the Conservatives have been concerned about the dangers of facing Turner. But after watching the leadership campaign they concluded that Turner will be less of a threat than they had originally ex-

pected. Despite the recent polls, the Tories still expect to make inroads in Quebec, largely because Mulroney is a native Quebecer fluent in the French of working-class Quebecers. And they discount Turner's years as a lawyer and politician in Montreal. Said George MacLaren, a Tory organizer in the province's Eastern Townships: "Down here Turner is looked upon as a Big Street businessman, while Brian is one of their own."

Anger: On the national level Mulroney will face the electorate with a somewhat uneven record in his first year. Twice, the Liberals outperformed the Conservative leader with delicate issues that posed special risks to Tory unity. In the first case Health Minister Menzies



Mulroney (left), Croble, Peckford, an offshore oil deal for Newfoundland if the Tories win the next election

introduced the Canada Health Act to penalize provinces for allowing doctors to charge patients more than the amounts that Medicare covers. Mulroney raised angering Tory provincial governments, which readily allow extra billing, by supporting the act rather than provide the Liberals with a ready-made election issue. His cases eventually backed his stand. In the second case he was less successful. When the Commons voted on an oil-poly resolution supporting extrajurisdiction of French-language rights in Manitoba, three western Conservatives were out-

party members who supported rival candidates, including Joe Clark and Mulroney's current finance critic, John Croble, at last year's convention. Mulroney raised angering Tory provincial governments, which readily allow extra billing, by supporting the act rather than provide the Liberals with a ready-made election issue. His cases eventually backed his stand. In the second case he was less successful. When the Commons voted on an oil-poly resolution supporting extrajurisdiction of French-language rights in Manitoba, three western Conservatives were out-

Mulroney uncertain



spaciously absent. At the same time, Woodpecker Terry Mc Donnell sought to prevent the province's NDP government from extending language rights finally, in a dramatic gesture Mulroney flew to Winnipeg and explained his position to a largely hostile audience. "You may disagree with me for having come down on one side of this issue," he declared, "but you would have had no respect for me had I tried to come down on both sides at once."

Disturbance has haunted the Conservatives ever since, and Mulroney has worked hard to restore

party members who supported rival candidates, including Joe Clark and Mulroney's current finance critic, John Croble, at last year's convention. Mulroney raised angering Tory provincial governments, which readily allow extra billing, by supporting the act rather than provide the Liberals with a ready-made election issue. His cases eventually backed his stand. In the second case he was less successful. When the Commons voted on an oil-poly resolution supporting extrajurisdiction of French-language rights in Manitoba, three western Conservatives were out-

start crafting general policy positions. These have included a pledge of increased government assistance for the private sector with revisions to the tax system, continued universality of social programs and a recognition that action is needed on such women's issues as the affirmative action statute. Still, some analysts say that the lack of even stronger policy threats could hurt the Tories.

The Conservatives have been preparing for the next election ever since Mulroney took over. According to Adams, by the end of the month the Tories will have nominated 300 candidates for the 265-seat Commons, and more than 500 candidates have recently been attending three-day Conservative campaigns and media training courses. At the same time, the Tories' national campaign organization has been structured to provide for enough regional activity to ease concerns, particularly in the West, that the Commons will be directed from Toronto. Said Adams: "You know there has been talk of a summer election. I just hope the Liberals do it."

The Tories' mood seems positive, yet there is an uneasy, smokescreen to their optimism because of the setbacks from the recent polls. But, said Adams, "Mulroney has built within the party the psychology that it is a winner, that we can do it." With a year of his own leadership behind him and a new Liberal leader in command, Mulroney will soon have the chance to prove it.



# Turner's inheritance

When Prime Minister Jean Turner arrives at his new office in Parliament Hill late next week, a welcome sight, the principal secretary to Pierre Trudeau, will greet him at the door. "The first thing I will do is give the new leader my resignation," the 37-year-old aide told *American* recently. "The next will be to give him the briefcase." These five thick black and red binders, which 36 top cabinet aides and prime ministerial advisers have been compiling for the past four months, contain not only an exhaustive operating manual for the government of Canada but also an encyclopedia as to how to run the Prime Minister's Office, how to address the Queen and how to rebuild the Liberal party.

When Aworthy has delivered that political legacy, he will neither the books, a favorite Beatles poster and his collection of 18th-century English political cartoons and leave the spacious office that he has occupied for the past three years. With that, the Winnipeg-born political scientist will submit the resignations of all 48 employees remaining in the PMO.

Since Trudeau announced his resignation on Feb. 29, almost half of his staff has already left for other jobs. Most of his advisers have already found positions with other government departments and agencies, but Aworthy himself intends to make a clean break from Ottawa. At the end of the summer he will move to Cambridge, Mass., to teach political science at the highly regarded John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, as well as begin a book on the future of liberalism.

**Breakfasting:** The two weeks between Turner's victory at the convention floor and his swearing-in at Rideau Hall as Canada's 17th Prime Minister are critically important. Within that time Turner has to select a cabinet and assemble a staff of top political advisers. Then, depending on how soon he intends to call a general election, he will begin to decide how many of the approximately 500 senior public servants he will replace. These deliberations will clearly redefine whether Turner's new look for Ottawa will be a new direction the entire Trudeau bureaucracy or simply involve a few highly visible cosmetic changes.

But Turner's association with at least produce a dramatic change of style in Ottawa's inner circles. Trudeau was a

leader who loved briefing books, legislative arguments and 30-page economic essays. "With somebody who don't like to read as much, you would have to be faster with your mouth than with your pen," Aworthy said, aware that Turner has pledged to alter drastically



Aworthy's dramatic change of style

the structure and style of federal decision-making; he has called for a purge of the PMO and its nearby counterpart, the Privy Council Office, the secretariat responsible for the research, paperwork and planning for the federal cabinet. As well, he intends to reduce the number of federal departments—now at 27—and give each cabinet minis-

ter more authority to run his own department without accounting to cabinet committees or prime ministerial aides. With that, Turner is likely to reverse the centralization of power that marked the Trudeau years.

Aworthy had an encyclopedic word of advice for the new team: do not renege on too much too fast. Declared the departing aide: "New governments always spend an inordinate amount of time changing the system of government." When Trudeau took over in 1968 his officials spent their first year changing the machinery of government and not valuable political time." He added that there are only 30 or 35 absolutely critical positions in the entire 350,000-person federal bureaucracy and he suggested that the new Prime Minister only needs to ensure that he has loyal, competent appointees in those key posts. But after making top-level changes Aworthy recommended that Turner make changes slowly and thoughtfully. "The mistake of many new leaders is to make," he said. For his part, Turner attempted to reassure the party that he was not a firebrand. During his Friday night speech to the convention he was careful to emphasize his commitment to traditional Liberal values and programs, as well as to pay tribute to Trudeau as the "greatest Canadian of our generation."

**Handing:** Aworthy's list of key positions is in fact a guide to power in Ottawa. It includes his own job as principal secretary and three or four other senior posts on the Prime Minister's personal staff. As well, he listed the three or four Privy Council officials who set the cabinet's agenda and brief the Prime Minister, the governor of the Bank of Canada, the deputy finance minister and two other top officials in that department. Aworthy also included the undersecretary of state (the chief civil servant in the external affairs department) and the secretary of the Treasury Board—the department responsible for federal hiring, firing and spending. All these powerful decision-makers share an important characteristic: they hold office at the pleasure of the cabinet.

But even before he makes changes, Turner will have to pore over hundreds of pages of briefing notes on the many critical leaders. The new Prime Minister will be the first man to read the entire package because Aworthy has seen only the books containing political advice, and Privy Council clerk Derek Oshibinski checked only the leaders' opinions on government policy. The new government service Aworthy devised has lost its loss of access to state secrets. After years near the centre of political power he seemed to welcome the prospect that he will be able to read books instead of briefing papers. —Carol Dook

# A tribute to the Trudeau legacy

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau entered the Ottawa Civic Centre to the blaring theme song from the movie *Rocky* and to the roaring cheers of about 9,000 plaid-wearing Liberals. After a lavish evening of entertainment, film clips and speeches, Trudeau bade farewell to his party and a national television audience, declaring, "Our dreams for this beautiful country will never die." Then he turned and walked off the political stage that he has dominated for 16 years. True to form, Trudeau returned for a characteristically irreverent gesture: the famous pensive, but beaming, he revealed to his innumerable, emotional self. And how he felt about finally taking his leave, he shrugged and replied softly, "Fare."

Although some Liberals were relieved to see Trudeau go, the carefully constructed farewell was drenched in praise, not to bury the controversial PM. Organizers tried to minimize the waves of Trudeauism that swept the country in 1968, and thousands of devoted followers showed their respect for the signs Trudeau used in his leadership victory. Many of the party faithful paid \$5 for a rose to wear in Trudeau's style. And many, including cabinet minister Judy Roper, shed tears as he receded the house, Trudeau era. "As we lost cabinet minister I tried to picture what it would be like when he is gone," Roper said. "I cannot imagine anyone else in that position. It will be tough."

**Revered:** The \$250,000 gala, broadcast live on both CBC and CTV networks, was the brainchild of Senator Keith Dewar, the passionate Trudeau loyalist skilled at getting the most political mileage out of any event. Singer-songwriter Paul Anka and improviser Rich Little returned home to Ottawa to headline the evening. On a Tuesday morning Air Canada flight from Toronto, Dewar personally carried a painting by Turner artist Charles Pachter, The Painted Flag, which Trudeau received during the farewell gala.

With his three young sons watching proudly, Trudeau unabashedly extolled the achievements of his governments since 1968. To lead others he recalled a "great lot of accomplishments," the construction of the Constitution, the defeat of "all those intellectuals of the PQ" in the Quebec referendum, the institution of federal bilingualism, promotion of women to high office, the advancement of minorities in public life, and the assertion of Canadian sovereignty in the

high Arctic. Trudeau's major theme was the need for Liberals to maintain a commitment to reform. He declared that Liberals should "defend the possibility, defend the security and challenge the conventional"—even when that involved challenging the provinces, multinational corporations or the superpowers of the world.

In October, 1970, to ensure of Trudeau performing a hasty into a swimming pool and driving his silver Mercedes-Benz roadster. In a formal tribute, Canadian film-maker Norman Jewison said that Trudeau "gave us strength, energy and above all a strong pride in a new country." After the show, former Newfoundland premier Joey Smallwood



Trudeau with sons Sacha (left), Justin and Michel, to praise, not to bury

Free Press in passing appeared on the gala evening unfolded, although the organizers could not get all the talent they wanted. Nova Scotia singer Anne Murray, for one, was unavailable to perform. But Marianne Winkler, a U.S.-born Montrealer who was recruited to sing the torchy rock song *Heartbreaker*, was glad to fill in. "This is the first time I've been in anything like this," she said. "I'm not very political, but I love Trudeau. He's a star. Like Mick Jagger."

**Devoted:** Inevitably, the focus of the evening was Trudeau. A series of short film clips evoked the highlights of 16 years in office, from his defiance of rising separatists in the 1968 St. Jean Baptiste Day parade and the PQ's crude

said he was "devoted" to Trudeau's leave-taking. "He should stay for another 16 years," said Smallwood as he marched from the Civic Centre. "There's not another that can take his place, least of all John Turner." Trudeau held a small party for the performers and a few close friends at 24 Beaver Drive after the event. He served a buffet dinner and mingled warmly with all the guests in one of the final parties that Trudeau will throw in the grey-sons mansion. And Trudeau extended the occasion. The guests did not leave until 1:30 a.m., an unusually late hour for Trudeau, who likes to retire early. Said one guest: "We stayed late in and I don't think he wanted the Ottawa in."

—JANE O'BRIEN in Ottawa

# A private lady goes public

By Ann Finkelson

She is a naturally retiring and private woman. But when her husband decided to run for the Liberal leadership, Gellie Turner decided to go public. And the forceful 46-year-old former Harvard graduate student ultimately played a visible and effective role in the victorious quest, eventually turning the family home—a sprawling, elegantly furnished red-brick mansion in Toronto's exclusive Forest Hill district—into a campaign post. She was clearly in control, polling delegates, planning campaign strategy and dealing with the media. Said the new candidate of 24 Sussex Drive: "A photographer asked to come around while John was home visiting. As if anyone has been visiting around here."

Her friend Senator Jerry Grafstein describes Gellie (pronounced Jeele), who is known as JTD Turner as a "very independent-thinking woman," and her appearance in the closing stages of the campaign. In such places as Sudburt, N.B., and Yellowknife, N.W.T., marked the end of 16 years of self-imposed isolation from public life. She said that the media, which she had avoided for years, were depicting her as a recluse and "breeding a monster." As a result, she decided to give several individual interviews—a decision, she said, that caused a "logistical frenzy" at home, as household obligations were made. "John did 90 per cent of the prime minister-designate. In this and I thought, well, maybe I had just better create my own monster."

Eventually Gellie threw herself into the campaigning in Ottawa. And at one news conference when the microphone did not work and her husband reportedly said to the assembled journalists, "Can you hear me? Can you hear me?" she stepped her hands and shouted "Louder—and louder." Despite the excitement and inevitable domestic confusion of the campaign and the newsworld, the Turner family emerged from it in high spirits. Daughter Elizabeth, 20, arrived at the Ottawa Civic Centre having just completed her third year at California's Stanford University, where she is studying history and English. Michael, 18, the eldest of the three Turner sons, had graduated from Toronto's Upper Canada College—with both parents in attendance—the week before. And David, 16, and Andrew, 12, had finished visiting their



Gellie Turner at home: articulate, intelligent, even Tim the budgie was happy

year-and-a-half at the same expensive private school, six blocks from the Turner house. Andrew was looking forward to a busy summer of tennis and covey. David to working on a ranch in Alberta. They were, according to Andrew, "a little bit excited" about the convention. Even Tim, the family budgie, whose cage is always left open, appeared content. The bird declined frequent opportunities to escape through the kitchen door which a parade of strategists kept using during the campaign's final days.

The women at the centre of the energetic, upper-middle-class family in both appearance and intellect. Her bedtime reading during the campaign included Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *The Female Sex* by Sigmund Freud. She is the only daughter of the

as the federal election campaign of a politically ambitious young lawyer named John Turner. They were married the next year in Winnipeg in a Catholic ceremony—although she remains an Anglican—and Gellie plunged into life in Ottawa, where John was an MP and by 1968 a cabinet minister in Lester Pearson's government. In Ottawa she considered studying law, but she abandoned that project when she discovered that she could not enroll at the University of Ottawa law school as a part-time student. "I had a two-year-old then," she recalled, "and I knew how demanding it was going to be and how demanding my life was already."

Later The years in Ottawa made her wary of the media, particularly after she gave a number of interviews during the 1968 Liberal leadership race, which

the balance crying upstairs, that sort of thing. This time, it is different."

Among the issues she cited, the "plight of many old people who, if they are still in reasonably good health, are often living in very dire circumstances and, if they are not well, sit nowhere into the scheme of things." She said that she also intends to stress the need for more day care facilities and the necessity to ease youth unemployment and its attendant social problems. "I know," she said, "that all these things have to be looked at in terms of the [financial] restraints that are very much upon us in the economy. But so many problems are solved only when attention is directed to them. I can see a real opportunity is getting involved in this way."

Another interest that Turner intends to pursue is Ottawa's photography, which she studied for four years at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. During those years, she said, "I barely slept at all. I worked in my darkroom until 4 a.m. and was back in class the next morning at 8. I discovered that I just loved the technical aspects of photography." In April she travelled to China with 10 other photographers and she has been compiling a collection of photographs of the Canadian North, but she has no plans to publish it. "I would never consider that while John is in politics," she said, "because it would look like I was using him. I would feel paranoid if I thought that my book could not stand on its own merits."

Chaos She conceded that the campaign was a strain and that her husband's schedule was exhausting. He was often away for long stretches but, she said, "John has always been very good about it. When he's home, he's home." Both husband and wife are almost completely unopinionated. She raises the issue, she then the planning. "Chaos does not have a place in our house," she said, and she and her husband are well prepared for the move back to Ottawa. But she added, "It is a little more complicated for the children."

She said that the Turner style at 24 Sussex Drive will be "fairly traditional" and that entertaining will usually involve "but, even so, the parties that are more intimate than some other kinds of entertaining. We have always entertained a lot, for politics and business and for pleasure. I enjoy it, although I do not think husbands always realize how much work is involved to do it properly." As for the future, she said, "Until John gets the idea of getting back into politics, I was thinking that the time really had come to settle down and get a serious job. I have always had this idea that when I grow up I will do that thing. But, obviously, it is not the time to make that decision."



With the children in Ottawa: a family in high spirits throughout the convention

late David H. Kilgour, chief executive officer of the Great-West Life Assurance Co. in Winnipeg from 1965 to 1971. Gellie Turner studied physics and mathematics at the University of Manitoba and McGill, in Montreal, before moving to Harvard University to do postgraduate work. She said that she always felt able to compete in these traditionally male-dominated fields. "I was lucky," she said. "When I was growing up I never had the sense that girls had to do this and boys had to do that. I always believed that girls, if they had the ability and worked hard, had chances as good as the next guy's."

By 1962 she had completed an IBM sales training program in New York and was working for the newspaper in Montreal when she volunteered to work

her husband's tie to Pierre Trudeau. She means that on occasion, she said, reporters "totally misinterpreted" her. The loss to Trudeau was far less traumatic than it has often been portrayed, she said, adding, "I was realistic about it. We went into it unopinionated, prepared to do our best. But when John didn't win there wasn't any great lingering shock. In fact, the next morning I picked Trudeau up at the street and drove him to work."

She said that her decision to become more public was partly prompted by changing attitudes toward women in Canadian life. Fifteen years ago, she added, "no one even considered wanting to talk to a woman, with anything more than 'woman's issues'—what sort of skirts I had in the living room,

# A question of bilingualism

Manitoba's French-English language conflict has assumed bilinguistic (and even bitergistic) and bitter proportions for years. Only four months ago it provoked a political stalemate that shut down the provincial legislature. Then, last week the issue of language rights in Manitoba was before the Supreme Court of Canada, and there was a prospect of an ultimate settlement. Both sides in the dispute proposed complex solutions that would make Canadian legal history—and test the authority of the Supreme Court itself. After listening to three days of arguments the seven judges reserved their decision—probably until the fall.

The court heard two cases last week, both resting on the same question: whether Manitoba's English-only statutes are invalid because they violate the province's constitutional guarantee of bilingual legislation. In the first case, *Roger Blais*, a francophone lawyer from Winnipeg, was appealing a 1989 provincial conviction on the grounds that the police issued the ticket under laws passed only in English. His case had been postponed since 1984 while the Manitoba government and the provincial francophone community tried to reach a political compromise that would have made the province officially bilingual and extended French-language services. After that attempt died in a legislative deadlock in February the federal government referred the whole issue to the Supreme Court. In the second case, *Ontario*, which supported *Blais*'s appeal, requested a separate reference on the court's opinion on the status of all of Manitoba's English-only laws—more than 30,000 pages of statutes and regulations passed since 1890.

As *Blais* watched from the back of the crowded court, the federal government's lawyer, Pierre Gosselin, charged the Manitoba government with "intentional and deliberate" violations of language guarantees of the Manitoba Act. Since after the Supreme Court in 1979 struck down the 1890 provincial law declaring English the only official language in the province, Manitoba had begun translating legislation at "an embarrassingly slow pace." Gosselin said, indeed, only half the bills passed since 1980 are available in both languages. Declared Gosselin: "They need a lot of encouragement."

Gosselin asked the court for a ruling that Manitoba's laws are invalid, a proposal that clearly dismayed several judges, who raised the prospect of a

provision suddenly caught with hardly any of its laws in force. Gosselin suggested that the court could prevent legal chaos by invoking a "doctrine of necessity" to provide a period—perhaps two years—in which the unconstitutional laws would be treated as valid while the province completes enactment of all its laws in both languages. Said Madam Justice Bertha Wilson: "This would be a new way to Canadian law."

Manitoba's counsel, 60-year-old Kevin Twaddle of Winnipeg, warned that the

for the implementation of 90 years of laws." After hearing all of the arguments the judges adjourned to consider a possible solution.

In the meantime a decision of another kind came from Ontario Premier William Davis, who refused again last week to make French an official language of his province, although he pledged that Ontario would continue its policy of extending services in French to the province's francophone minority. One example, earlier this year the Ontario



Blais (right) with lawyer Hughie Rank questioning 30,000 pages of statutes

legislature and Parliament might not be able to agree in time on an amendment to the Manitoba Act that would make the offending unilingual laws legal. Said Twaddle: "One would then have a state of lawlessness in Manitoba." Instead, he asked the court to rule that French-language guarantees do not mean that English-only laws are invalid. The province, he said, would then be left to translate existing laws at its own speed, adding, "The province now knows its obligation."

Manitoba's brief to the court acknowledged that the province must respect French-language rights but it argued, "The wrongs of our forefathers should not mar the present-day citizenship of Manitobans having to pay successive costs

for the translation of 90 years of laws." But Davis declared, "When the people of Ontario, of whatever mother tongue, witness the racism and disregard which has, unfortunately, accompanied language legislation in neighboring provinces, they conclude that the spirit which is Ontario is sound." When the people of Ontario are already bound into their Constitution, Manitoba cannot avoid the issue as easily.

—JOAN HART in Ottawa



Kegreus leaving courtroom, 'spreading hatred against an identifiable group'

## Hatred goes on trial

For two weeks James Kegreus, 36, sat in Courtroom 301 in Red Deer, Alta., while several of his former students read aloud essays written for the high school history teacher who allegedly promoted hatred against Jews. Bruce Fraser, prosecutor at the preliminary hearing, declared that Kegreus, a former agent of KGB in a small farming community 160 km southwest of Edmonton, should stand trial for "willfully spreading hatred against an identifiable group." Defence lawyer Douglas Christie maintained that his client was exercising his right of free speech. But at school and Kegreus was committed to stand trial, probably in December. Said provincial court Judge Douglas Crowe: "There is in my mind no doubt that those statements [by Kegreus], or some of them, in the context they were made, were capable of promoting hatred of the Jewish people." Kegreus faces as many as two years in prison if convicted. The case attracted wide attention because the defence waived its right to a ban on publication of evidence. Reporters crowded into the tiny courtroom where they competed with Kegreus supporters from across the country for the 50 available seats—and secured a wide range of views on Kegreus's alleged views—even before Crowe decided whether or not to send the case to trial.

The evidence from the former students was both dramatic and controversial. Yvonne Bala, one of six former students testifying last week, said that in

1972 Kegreus taught her Grade 12 social studies class that Jews were responsible for the French Revolution, both world wars, the Russian Revolution and the Great Depression of the 1930s. For his part, Kegreus has never denied telling his students that an international conspiracy involving Jews had been trying to control the world. His lawyer indicated to court that he did so only to stimulate their thinking. But in December, 1982, the Lacombe County School Board fired Kegreus after student Paul Madelon's mother, Sharon, formally complained that he was teaching a biased view of history. At the same time, the provincial government formed an education department committee to recommend ways the education system can promote tolerance and understanding in the province's schools. Then, Premier Peter Lougheed's Conservative administration brought Kegreus to court even though none of the eight previous willful hate charges laid in Canada in the past 14 years resulted in a conviction. For his part, Christie argued that the case should not go to trial because the Crown had not disproved Kegreus's theories of an international Jewish conspiracy.

Christie's "great lie" was that the case should not go to trial because the Crown had not disproved Kegreus's theories of an international Jewish conspiracy. Christie argued that the case should not go to trial because the Crown had not disproved Kegreus's theories of an international Jewish conspiracy. Christie argued that the case should not go to trial because the Crown had not disproved Kegreus's theories of an international Jewish conspiracy.



truthfulness of his theories could be used as a defence at the trial.

Kegreus is now working as a sales technician in a garage in Banff, Alta. He has not modified his beliefs. In April, shortly after he lost his appeal of his firing and his teaching certificate was cancelled, he contacted that someone was contacting the politicians. "This individual had his hand over my eye," he said. "They have never proved I have done anything wrong. I have been correct all the time." And Christie, a Victoria lawyer who founded the separatist Western Canada Concept in 1980, maintained that the case would be "the greatest test of freedom of speech this country has ever seen." The hearing sparked demonstrations outside the courthouse by about 30 supporters. One of the protesters, Ernst Bandel, 45, a Toronto commercial artist, appeared in court three times on charges of possessing false news. Outside, others distributed a press release stating Lougheed.

When the second week of the hearing ended, with a potential double prosecution witness still refusing to testify, Kegreus's former students were still trying to evaluate his unorthodox interpretation of history and its effects on them. Richard Davis, for one, testified that he had failed Kegreus's social studies class in 1982 but received a passing mark for an essay that described Jews in derogatory terms. Added Blair Andrew, 17: "If you wrote on the Jewish conspiracy, then you passed. If you wrote against it, then your mark was not the best." And, in a rare admission, one of the students in 1982 for Kegreus's Grade 12 class, "Toller was one of the most successful people in the world to ever go against the Jews. If people had been listening, he could have led the world of Jews forever." Added one of the students who had written, "I will add the court, 'I believe their new law. I have an opinion.'" But Gwen Matthews, 39, maintained that she had not developed prejudice in Kegreus's classroom. Declared Matthews: "He was the first person to tell us about the Golden Rule and the importance of living by that rule. The last witness to testify at the hearing, Sharon Wolke, 35, was asked by Christie whether Kegreus espoused Christian racism. Responded Wolke: "I don't know. I just heard him say, 'I believe you should love your neighbor as yourself—as long as he isn't Roman Catholic, Negro or Jew.'"

—GORDON LEECH  
in Red Deer

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Roy Jenkins, former leader of Britain's Social Democratic Party (SDP), with European Parliament candidate Ernest Marinch

## WORLD

# A vote without feeling

By Marci McDonald

The European Parliament is an official symbol, constantly full of sound and fury but almost insignificantly little. In Britain, three-quarters of the electorate told pollsters that it had no influence on their country. In Germany, 20 per cent of voters claimed that they did not even know of its existence. Considered the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera*: "The European Parliament is a pure phantom." Still, European politicians seriously awaited the outcome of last week's voting for the 434-seat parliament in Strasbourg. The reason is each of the European Community's 10 capitals, the balloting had become a key referendum on domestic political performances.

In France, the 1314 candidates contesting 11 seats treated the vote as the political picnic of President François Mitterrand's Socialist regime before the 1988 legislative elections. The president's popularity is at an all-time low, and the Socialists were hit hard for a severe setback after three years in power

even before the campaign opened. And the government feared that major losses would set a defeatist tone that could carry over into the next general election. As a result, the Socialist coalition, Communist Party leader Georges

**The elections for the European Parliament painfully revealed its underlying weaknesses and lack of real force**

Marchais, predicted a cabinet shuffle after the vote to give the government a new look. According to Marchais, a new centre candidate will replace Pierre Mourey as prime minister, and Mitterrand will probably reduce the number of Communists in his cabinet—in preparation for doing without them altogether.

For their part, the Communists saw most of the campaign trying to win the

support of businessmen and influential middle-class figures, in an attempt to expand the party's dwindling electoral base. Indeed, if the party does not finish above the 10-per-cent total predicted by pollsters in the European vote, the Communists may abandon their role in government altogether and replace Marchais as leader.

At the same time, the French opposition, led by Simone Veil, the first president of the European Parliament, has been weakened since Veil's neo-Gaullist partners forced her to accept controversial prison Baron Robert Hermitant on her list of candidates for the voting. Nine former Resistance fighters published a full-page letter in the daily *Le matin de Paris* declaring that Veil, a Jewish survivor of the Nazi concentration camps, had compromised her prestige by her association with Hermitant, whose anti-Semitic and past collaboration with the German occupation forces have been fully documented. For parliamentarian Hermitant, owner of *Le Parisien* and *France Soir* newspapers, a Strasbourg seat would mean immunity from charges

pending under the country's press monopoly laws. But the spoiler of the election was right-wing extremist Jean-Marie Le Pen, whose vitriolic anti-immigration platform siphoned off support from both right and left. His rallies provoked violence across the country. Only hours before he was scheduled to speak in the southwestern city of Toulouse, a bomb destroyed the meeting hall.

In Britain, balloting offered the first test of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's waning popularity since her general election landslide a year ago. The Conservatives were prepared to lose at least 10 seats as part of a general drift to the left in most West European countries other than France. But the fading Social Democratic/Liberal Alliance was a distant third in the polls. Still, it was the Labour Party that was in the most awkward position, vigorously

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In Italy, the sudden death of Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer increased pressure on all parties to use the outcome of the vote as a means of reconfiguring their share of power in the government. But the election failed to capture voters' attention, despite the star names on some ballots. Among them, newly elected Alberto Marchais, running as an independent Communist, two women, both named Anna Gariboldi, both claiming descent from the 19th-century hero of Italian unity, and television personality Enzo Tortora. He came parade—from the Milan apartment where he has been under house arrest since last year for ties to the Naples mafia—against what he described as the corruption of Italian justice. Only in Denmark did voters show any significant interest in the issue of Europe itself at least three parties campaigned to take the country out of the community.



Ball an important organization grappling with turbulent issues such as European ballwater

ly campaigning to win seats—and perhaps—in an institution that it wanted Britain to leave as recently as last year. Its Eurosceptic stance was vague on the issue of continued membership, recommending approval for an option to withdraw when the new parliamentary term ends in five years. But the Conservatives contended that only one of Labour's candidates was in fact of British residence in the community.

Still, the issue that dominated the campaign in Britain was three-month-old unrest: strikes which became increasingly violent, with riotousness that Thatcher has secretly intervened in



Debates within the community over the size of Britain's budget rebate and much-needed reforms for the Common Agricultural Policy are partly responsible for the apathy among the nations and voters. Efforts to protect national interests, have paralyzed the EC and they are striving to find a compromise before the next summit in Fontainebleau, near Paris, later this month. But the lack of interest in the European Parliament is also due to its reputation as a halfhearted debating society noted for marathon examinations of such strategic issues as European ballwater.

EC member governments refuse to give the parliament more than limited powers, such as the ability to veto the budget and fire the president. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared that if the institution does not gain more authority before the next election in 1992, it should be dismantled. Said Danksen: "We can be held responsible only if we have some real responsibilities."

But as the current campaign demonstrated, the European Parliament is trapped in a particularly difficult dilemma. On the one hand, it cannot win voter support if it remains ineffectual. On the other, governments are so anxious to transform it into a powerful forum for the public continues to ignore it. ☐

## A clouded legacy

**T**he spectacular funeral was in lurid contrast to the squalid life of the man who had died. In a swirl of red banners about a million singing and chanting mourners topped skulls in Rome last week as they honored Italian Communist Party leader and architect of Eurocommunism Enrico Berlinguer, 62. The soft-spoken, Marxist-born politician, who defied Moscow by formalizing and enshrining in his party's platform a unique blend of Marxist principles combined with support for Western-style pluralism, died last week after suffering a brain hemorrhage. And many observers declared that Berlinguer's control of the party had been so complete that there is no evident successor waiting to take command.

When he was elected as party leader in 1978, Berlinguer stunned both the Communist and the neo-Communist worlds with a mixture of important departures from orthodoxy. In 1979 he opened a dialogue with other Italian political parties by announcing his so-called "historic compromise"—in which he rejected the principle of violent revolution and proposed to work power by forming coalitions with Italy's other political parties—in a dramatic but unsuccessful attempt to end the party's 38-year exclusion from government. Because of his moderate policies and moderate attitudes, the party's support increased. In the 1976 general election it secured 34.5 per cent of the vote. Still, Berlinguer's rivals continued to spurn his overtures, and recently the party's support declined. Last year its vote slumped to 30.6 per cent, and the historic compromise had given way to increasingly violent attacks by the disenchanted Berlinguer on government policies.

The death of the landowner's son leaves his party with the problem of replacing his failed policies as well as finding a leader of equal stature. Some party members suggested that 60-year-old Alessandro Natta, a close Berlinguer aide, might perform both tasks. But last week most of them's members were preoccupied with Berlinguer's sudden death. Rosario Valentini, 73, from southern Italy, for one, who made her first visit to Rome to attend Berlinguer's funeral, commented, "I found the strength to come here to see Enrico's life."

—BOB GILBERT in Rome



Reagan: impressive technology but hovering support from Congress

### THE UNITED STATES

## An orbiting arms race

**I**t was another step toward building a "Star Wars" antiair system. Last week, high over Keweenaw Atoll in the western Pacific, a U.S. interceptor rocket known as the Homing Overlay Experiment tracked and destroyed a Soviet-fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base, 4,200 miles away in northern California. "We tried to hit a bullet with a bullet and it worked," one U.S. Army officer declared. The interception was the fourth—three earlier tests failed—in a series of trials of a new U.S. system designed to destroy incoming nuclear warheads in midcourse.

Technically, Homing Overlay's test was impressive. Army officials said that they launched the interceptor after a U.S. Minuteman missile had released a single dummy warhead. Ten minutes later, Homing Overlay closed in and destroyed a circular metal net, about 15 feet across at its widest circumference, in the warhead's path. The interceptor destroyed the warhead by the force of impact alone, a major advance over systems that require a radar nuclear defense program, said, "We aren't even close to deployment." Army officials also stated that Homing Overlay is "test bed" technology that does not violate the 1972 U.S.-Soviet treaty banning antinuclear systems.

But the successful test did nothing to hasten Senate approval for President Ronald Reagan's requested \$2.9-billion

for U.S. military authorization bill for fiscal 1985. Indeed, sources privately noted 61 to 28 in early air spending on antinuclear testing—a key element of the Star Wars scheme—under House certification that he is "endeavoring in good faith to negotiate the strictest possible limitations on antinuclear weapons." The White House is seeking \$1.5 billion for missile defense development in 1985.

For his part, Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko appeared to the United States to present an arms race in space. The Soviet party chief declared that an agreement on banning space militarization "must be sought without delay while space weapons have not yet been deployed. Otherwise it may be too late." But Reagan told a press conference last week that Washington wanted to "know its way" before talking. He added "The Soviets see way ahead of us in that field. We are just at the beginning of research."

That stance may make Reagan's antinuclear program a major issue in the November presidential election. In Washington last week, scientists and retired senior military officers appearing before the Democratic platform committee denounced ballistic missile defense as not feasible, overly expensive and dangerously provocative to Moscow. The Democrats will now try to convince voters that the Star Wars would drive the Kremlin to an act of desperation.

—LENN GELMAN in New York

### INDIA

## Fury in the aftermath

**F**or their timorous Indian troops, 2,000 Sikh terrorists from the Golden Temple on June 7, an uneasy calm descended on the holy city of Amritsar. Inside the 73-acre complex last week, soldiers—their feet bare in keeping with Sikh custom—climbed debris. The most revered building, the gold-domed Harmandir Sahib, was intact despite four days of intense fighting. But a handful of foreign journalists, who were allowed to visit the city for the first time since Indian troops captured it from Sikh militants, found their lower shells had blasted away the arched facade of another sacred structure, the Akal Takht. Inside the three-story tower the floors were littered with cartridge casings.

According to reliable sources, about 500 Sikh terrorists and 94 soldiers died in the fighting. Other sources said that the death toll may reach 1,500 when more bodies are found within the labyrinth of passages in the complex. The government claimed to have discovered gold, silver and \$402,000 in cash as well as millions of dollars worth of drugs, which the extremists allegedly intended to trade for arms. Throughout India, Sikhs staged protests against the Golden Temple's desecration. Unconfirmed reports that the Indian army had committed atrocities in sapping the temple only increased their anger and sense of alienation.

From the beginning of the wage program, officials feared that they would lose the loyalty of Sikh troops who make up 12 per cent of the Indian army's total strength of one million. In 10 widely scattered incidents nearly 2,000 Sikh soldiers mutinied, and loyal troops killed 46 mutineers and captured 200. In Punjab, the Sikh heartland, the government's army of 100,000 men killed the brigadier and hijacked several bases in an attempt to reach Amritsar. But after a clash with loyal troops near Amritsar, in Uttar Pradesh state, they surrendered. The soldiers face charges of mutiny, which carry the death penalty. But official spokesmen have said that most of them would be tried for the lesser crime of desertion.

The government's tight control in the Punjab made it impossible to investigate unconfirmed local reports of atrocities in Amritsar. Sikh doctors claimed that an examination of 400 bodies removed from the Golden Temple showed that 180 were women and 15 were children under 8. Other reports claimed that troops had tied the heads of captured extremists with their turbans and then

shot them in the head at point-blank range. But Indian government officials and many Western observers in New Delhi said that such reports were fabrications intended to further exacerbate the Sikh community's feelings.

Indeed, before the Golden Temple last week Sikh condemned the extremists' call for secession and the destruc-

tion of a separate state of Khalistan. But since then even some moderates have embraced the call for independence. Sikh leader Bhai, a prominent Sikh writer. "The idea of Khalistan was always odious to me. Now I too suddenly and unexpectedly spring very much alive." That sentiment gave added impetus to the task now facing Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to heal the Sikh's deep sense of religious and political grievance and prevent the situation from once more running out of control.

—JAMES MCGILLI, with Eric Silver in New Delhi

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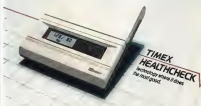
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illegal Mexican aliens: replicating a compromise between compassion and realism

#### THE UNITED STATES

## The unwelcome immigrants

The timing was planned exquisitely. Only a week after the last U.S. presidential inauguration had ended, the House of Representatives began debates on one of the most emotional and political issues on the docket—illegal immigration. House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill scheduled a full week for floor discussion—reflecting not only the controversy that surrounded the legislation but the nearly 70 amendments that had been attached to it. Said Representative Trent Lott (R-Miss.): "The problem of immigration is a ticking time bomb that is not going to go away. It is not going to get better. It's going to get worse."

Still, the bill provided sharp exchanges on whether its provisions would achieve what its authors intended—restore Washington's control of U.S. borders. It is commonly conceded that millions of aliens, mostly from Latin America, routinely flout current immigration laws to flood illegally into the United States. To prevent that, Republican Senator Alan Simpson and House Democrat Romano Mazzoli drafted a bill that tried to strike a balance between compassion and realism.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act, as it is formally called, offers a general amnesty to aliens who could prove that they were U.S. residents since January, 1982. They would be granted either temporary or permanent status, depending on negotiations with

the Senate, which has already approved a slightly different version. At the same time, the measure would provide sanctions against employers of four or more workers who knowingly hire illegal. Penalties would begin with warnings, then escalate to fines. But the House last week rejected one key element of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill: it removed criminal penalties for repeat offenders. Some supporters of the bill lamented the decision, contending that only the threat of stiff punishment would deter employers.

Still, opposition to the bill was loud and deep. The powerful Hispanic lobby claimed that the legislation's provisions

#### Simpson broad opposition



of Latin American citizens. "They have relieved themselves of the guilt of this bill with the amendment. They said, 'We have to give you something,' and this is it."

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce also lobbied heavily against the legislation, contending that illegal aliens provide a needed pool of cheap labor which allows U.S. business to stay competitive in world markets. Fearing employers to pay union wages in agricultural and other industries would ultimately raise costs to consumers and destroy more jobs than it would create. In response, Simpson-Mazzoli offered to ease the entry of foreign temporary workers to help farmers harvest their crops.

Civil libertarians expressed concern that shifting the onus for identifying illegal immigrants to employers might lead to the creation of a national identity card. And the use of checks, they contended, would lead to inaccurate censuses of privacy. Fingerprint documents are readily available to aliens, but an amendment adopted last week requires the federal government to set up a telephone hotline to validate social security numbers. However, the House specifically projected legislation that would have authorized a three-year search for a more tamper-proof system.

Still, other critics insisted that even with tough sanctions the bill was unlikely to succeed. Some southern states, including Florida and California, already prohibit hiring illegals. But the effect of those laws is negligible. Still, defenders of the bill seemed prepared to consider almost any compromise to win its passage. They say they are stunned that even an unscrupulous bill would constitute an advance. Said House Democrat Peter Rodino: "The problem is not that we stand at the status quo. We add a Washington Post editorial. 'None of the bill's opponents has a plan to take account of undocumented aliens here already and to enable the nation to take control of its borders. Sanctions would inevitably cause employers to discriminate against Latinos rather than risk getting an illegal on the payroll. To guard against that bias, the House adopted an amendment by Representative Barney Frank (D-Mass.) that would specifically prohibit discrimination based on national origin and create a panel to adjudicate disputes. The opposition decided that the amendment could be enforced. Said Arnoldo Torres, executive director of the League of United

Everyone should understand the alternative to this bill... is nothing."

By week's end it appeared that the House agreed. Against all odds, lawmakers are wrestling with an issue fraught with political, social and economic implications. The final result will likely be less than Simpson and Mazzoli hoped for and more than its many opponents wished. But in an election year it was probably as much as anyone could have expected.

—MICHAEL FORSTER  
in Washington



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# Taking Cadillac for a ride



Reichman, in a sudden move, OAT staged a raid on Cadillac Fairview

By James Fleming

When Olympia & York Developments Ltd. (OAT), the \$133-billion Toronto-based real estate empire of Paul and Albert Reichman, opens a stock market buying campaign, rumors abound and share prices gyrate. Last week the Toronto and Montreal markets were beginning to recover from OAT's latest swoop: a \$100-million purchase of an 18-per-cent stake—13 million shares—in Cadillac Fairview Corp., a rival Toronto-based real estate giant in an interview with *Money*, Paul Reichman, the 53-year-old executive vice-president of OAT, described the purchase as "an exceptionally good investment" because of Cadillac's commercial assets and the "high caliber of its management."

The investment in Cadillac was the latest in a series of moves by OAT, one of the largest real estate developers in the world. Recently, OAT has made an informal bid for Gulf Canada Ltd., a \$4-billion energy firm, and it has arranged the largest mortgage in North American history—worth nearly \$1 billion—for three office buildings in Manhattan, where it is the city's largest landlord. But the purchase of Cadillac shares attracted even greater interest

and gossip among investment analysts. OAT owns major buildings in three of Canada's largest cities and its share developers it already owns a 37.3-per-cent stake in Brisse Corp. Ltd. of Calgary, and Tristar, in turn, holds a 30.1-per-cent interest in Brookdale Ltd. of Toronto. As well, the investment in Cadillac seems to pit the Reichmans against the powerful Brodman family. Cadillac's major shareholder is Corp Investments Ltd. of Montreal, a holding company that controls the fortunes of Charles, Edgar, Miriam and Phyllis Brodman. Responding to a suggestion that OAT's new association with the Brodmans might be a difficult one, Reichman said, "I personally think that it will be an excellent relationship."

OAT financed the purchase of Cadillac shares with cash on hand and existing lines of bank credit, and in a press release the company said that it would not rule out additional acquisitions of the stock. Still, Reichman said that the shares were bought as an

investment, and OAT did not have plans to seek control of Cadillac. Previously, Cadillac had not received any information about OAT's intentions and it only obtained a press release from OAT after shareholders detailing the purchase after phone calls to OAT's Toronto headquarters. Cadillac President Bernard Ghert said the firm was "amused" that "knowledgeable real estate people such as the Reichmans are prepared to make such a significant investment in the company."

But according to Toronto real estate analyst Iva Gluskin, Cadillac was upset by the share purchase. Said Gluskin: "Cadillac Fairview and Corp have just been completely outmaneuvered by the Reichmans." According to Gluskin, the timing of OAT's acquisition was awkward for Cadillac, which had just made an offer to buy back from the public 15 million of its shares at \$13.50. The stock was trading in the \$11-to-\$12 range when Cadillac announced its offer. Two major beneficiaries of the stock repurchase were the Bank of Nova Scotia (BNS) and Toronto Dominion (TD) bank. Cadillac earlier said they wanted to sell their holdings—about seven million shares. According to TD chairman Robert Thomas, his bank wanted to sell its shares at \$12.50 each. "To make a nice profit," Cadillac decided to buy the seven million shares itself and announced that it would buy another eight million shares at the same price from any shareholders who wanted to sell. As a result, the number of shares held publicly would be reduced, and Corp's 10-per-cent holding in the firm would automatically increase.

The Reichmans prompted that strategy with their own \$12.75-a-share offer. According to Iva Gluskin, a real estate analyst with Merrill Lynch Canada, Cadillac already outbidding buy-back offers did not make it possible for OAT to start buying large blocks of stock without driving the price up. Last week Reichman confirmed that analysis. Normally, he said, OAT could not acquire more than five per cent of such a company "without driving the price of its shares in the sky." Because OAT obtained some of the available stock, only 3.5 million shares,

including the seven million tendered by the banks, were bought by Cadillac.

The Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) is now investigating, at Cadillac's request, a flurry of trading in the firm's stock before the Brodmans made their bid and just prior to Cadillac's own buy-back announcement. The OSC wants to determine if the preannouncement purchases involved investors who had prior knowledge of the buy back. For his part, Reichman said that OAT was not involved in that scope of trading. "We have absolutely no knowledge of it."

Ghert stressed that his company had met its main objective of purchasing the

his company. However, low experts expected that anything would come of the informal investigation.

In the end, the Reichmans emerged as the overall winners. They gained a major holding in a company that, said Gluskin, "is in the midst of a terrific turnaround." During the recent recession Cadillac Fairview, like many other real estate developers, found itself saddled with a vast portfolio of residential properties. It also carried \$1.6 billion in floating-rate debt. Cadillac has since sold \$2.1 billion worth of assets, most of which were residential, and it has reduced its floating-rate debt to about \$400



Ghert, claimed to be 'Victor' by the bid, but analysts thought otherwise

million. The company's recovery has been so complete that for the fiscal year ended Feb. 28 it reported net profits of \$31.8 million, up 150 per cent from the previous year. Ghert, who succeeded Senator Leo Koller—the 35-year-old vice-chairman of Corp—as chief executive officer of Cadillac in June, said that the company now has \$1.6 billion in projects which have either just been completed or are under way.

Privately held OAT usually keeps its financial position secret. But last year, in a step speculation that it was suffering because of poor demand for its roughly 30 million square feet of office space in Canada, the United States and Europe, Paul Reichman and his 54-year-old brother Albert, who is president of the firm, disclosed key financial figures.

They showed that OAT ended its 1993 fiscal year last July with a healthy \$248-million (U.S.) cash flow, a 300-million increase from the previous year. Gluskin estimated that OAT's net worth (its value after all debts are paid off) fell from about \$2 billion in 1991 to 1992 to a low point of \$1.7 billion during the 1992 recession. That it has since climbed to roughly \$4 billion.

Not only do the Reichmans hold large interests in their public real estate firms but they have also expanded into the financial services industry. They own a substantial share of Tristar Financial Corp., a Toronto-based holding company set up by Edward and Peter Brodman's Benson Ltd. The Reichmans' most controversial venture outside the real estate industry started in 1991, when they began expanding into resource companies. In March, 1993, when OAT bought 30.2 per cent of Alberta-Price Inc. of Toronto, the world's largest producer of neoprene, about 87 per cent of the nearly \$700 million paid for Altrix, said Reichman, was supplied by the Bank of Montreal. As well, OAT owns 49.9 per cent of Brasse Ltd., a Vancouver-based mining operation, and nine per cent of Hiram Walker Resources Ltd., an energy and drilling concern. But OAT bought into the resources companies when their share prices were at a peak, and, according to Toronto Ontario, a Montreal-based resource analyst, the company faces longer losses of "a few hundred million dollars."

Still, the Reichmans continue to be interested in additional investments in resource firms. Early this year, according to Paul Reichman, OAT made an informal offer to Pittsburgh-based Gulf Corp. to buy its more than 60-per-cent share of Gulf Canada Ltd. The \$17.90-a-share offer, which would have been financed mainly through Alberta-Price, was expected to bring in Joe Joe Corp. was acquired in March by Standard Oil Co. of California (SOCAL), but Reichman said that OAT is still interested in buying Gulf Canada when its new U.S. parent puts it up for sale.

To remain in line with OAT's future acquisitions, OAT plans to complete a two-year effort to raise \$3 billion in long-term debt by the end of this year. About half of that amount will be used to refinance existing debt, but the remainder, said Reichman, will be invested in new projects. For the time being, the raid on Cadillac appears to have satisfied OAT's appetite for expansion. Said Reichman: "We are not really searching for new acquisitions. For the next six to 12 months we plan to concentrate on great buy-backs." But with the Gulf purchase still a possibility, the stock markets may soon fill with rumors again, because OAT is on the move. □

Koller surprised





# Ontario's billion-dollar auto win



AMC production line; Lumsley: a depressed dollar helped lure investment

By BOB LARSEN

Ever since the North American auto industry began retooling in the late 1970s to meet the challenges posed by Japanese and European car makers, various governments across the continent have been competing for a share of the investment involved. In the past two weeks the governments of both Canada and Ontario claimed several significant victories. For one thing, Japan's Honda Motor Co. unveiled plans on June 4 for a \$200-million assembly plant in Alliston, Ont.—the first such venture by a Japanese automaker in Canada. For another, General Motors of Canada Ltd. said it would spend \$255 million to modernize its St. Catharines, Ont., plant to produce a new generation of fuel-injected V-8 engines. Then, on June 11, American Motors Corp., 66 per cent owned by Eagle National de l'Automobile of France, announced that it will spend \$764 million in partnership with the federal and Ontario governments to build a new assembly plant in Brampton, Ont. The AMC plant will employ 3,500 workers and create 4,000 other jobs in related industries.

Ottawa and Ontario each committed \$103.5 million to the Brampton deal, an investment that the two governments expect to recover over a 7½-year period. Federal Industry Minister Edward Leamy, for one, was robust but he conceded that intensive lobbying by the governments involved was only one of

many factors that influenced the three companies' decisions. Said Leamy: "Obviously I think we played a role, but the companies already knew pretty well where they wanted to go."

According to some analysts, the depressed value of the Canadian dollar was a key factor in attracting the companies to invest in Ontario. Combined with lower labor costs, a stronger Canadian dollar will give Canadian plants a financial advantage over those in U.S. locations. And in Honda's case, the yen-to-dollar added, the new plant will allow the automaker to develop Canadian import credits to Japanese automobiles. After months of negotiations, Canada and Japan agreed last week on a ceiling of 370,000 cars in 1984-1985, up 11.4 per cent from last year's total. The Honda plant is expected to employ about 350 people when full production is reached in 1986, and produce 95,000 cars each year.

Several provinces complained that Ontario was the main beneficiary of the new investments. And Leamy said that "for national purposes" the federal government would have preferred that the new factories be built in poorer regions. Still, he added, none of the automakers could be convinced—even by of-

fers of increased federal funding—to locate outside Ontario. "It is too bad, because we need the jobs," said Denis Vincent, a spokesman for Quebec Industry Minister Rodrigue Biron. At the same time, Gary Steinberg, executive director of British Columbia's trade and industry division, contended that his province was fighting an uphill battle to lure automotive investment. Said Steinberg: "We would love to see a major assembly or parts plant in British Columbia, but in the final analysis most companies would rather be closer to their major market."

Indeed, most analysts say that in future the automobile industry could become even more centralized. The reason: all four North American manufacturers are moving toward a system known in the industry as "just in time" production, which forces parts suppliers to locate within one day's delivery time of assembly plants. Possessed in the early 1970s by Japanese car makers, the arrangement radically lowers inventory costs by requiring suppliers to make daily or even hourly deliveries of components rather than stockpiling large supplies at the factory. As a result, such companies as the Ford Motor Co. and General Motors are closing assembly plants in California and New England and concentrating most of their production in the traditional automotive heartland of Detroit—and southern Ontario. "What that means is that places like Quebec are not likely to get any major new assembly or component plants, ever," said David Peisach, a Toronto-based consultant who was on the staff of last year's federal task force on the automotive industry.

By extending its system of import quotas into a fourth year—and warning that a further extension may also be necessary—Ottawa has served notice that it intends to apply pressure to foreign car makers to invest in Canada. Said Leamy: "The competition world-

wide is for the dollar to rise. We intend to get our fair share." Equally pleased, Brampton Mayor Ken Williams gave credit to his community's well-known resident—Premier William Davis—and he added that the AMC plant would "put Brampton on the map, right up there with Oshawa, Oakville and Windsor." Ontario's other major auto manufacturing centres ♡



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# The building of a new coalition

By Peter C. Newman

Every contender in the Liberal leadership race had his retinue of hangers-on and boosters, the John Turner people being the most distinct among them. They were cheerleaders of both sexes, with bronzed faces, sculpted cheekbones, a restless grace in their limbs and that stirring of consciousness in their voices that marks what passes for an upper class in this country.

The winner himself projected strength (the Caribbean-bias was missing the first command, "Love me, damn it"), yet as a politician he remained blurry about the edges, as nervous as a beaver in a hole.

The Turner campaign was a triumph of networking. He has seldom spent a day since puberty without rifling through his voluminous personal index file, making sure he's not out of touch with everybody who counts—keeping the lines open, constantly expanding his constituency. Now that he has grabbed power, Turner will fight the forthcoming election on economic, not social, issues, trying to create the impression that he is returning the Liberal party to its rightful roots, hinting that the Trudeau Years were really an aberration dominated by guys who had never met a payroll. His main address to the resistance sounded all the tranquillity he could—that he may be an ally of big business but his heart belongs to the small family farm, that he is not an insensitive right-winger about to Bessie Canada. It was a vintage performance and Turner even managed a touch of poetry when he described the challenge of governing this country with the comment, "We must reach for the stars in a land that has no horizons."

All but one of the candidate's speeches found an echo among the delegates. The exception was Eugene Whelan, who wandered into the hall out of step with his own 182-piece marching band, delivered a dumb speech that alienated between Harry Truman and Kaiser Wilhelm, looked back to his day before of supporters and promptly went to sleep. An educated John Wayne-junkie if someone had been practicing taekwondo on him, followed with a rousing appeal in which he promoted the delegation everything except a crusade against various vices. Mark MacGavie challenged the notion that successful politicians have to be charismatic,

in, then proceeded to prove his point by scoring a solid zero on the charisma meter. John Roberts made the best speech of all, ensuring his place in the Liberal's Ideological Hall of Fame, if not inside a Turner cabinet. Don Johnston, the most attractive candidate, kept looking puzzled, like a diver exploring the wreck of his own ship, trying to place distance between himself and his hurt. Jessa Christian's performance was vintage Mr. Zerk Goes to Washington, but his



Turner: proving a public reputation

policy impulses revealed a mind groping toward orthodoxy.

A fascinating insight of all the rhetoric was how it helped define the real differences between conservatism and liberalism. In the same hall a year ago Tory candidates had spouted their hopes and dreams, almost entirely in terms of time. Not so the Liberals. They see Canadian democracy almost entirely in terms of its institutions and processes.

No wonder came close to the bruised forehead performance of Pierre Tra-

udeau. Standing in front of 8,000 people without a note in hand, he delivered from memory a perfectly strung-out, eloquently crafted valedictory. Written by his principal secretary, Tom Arworthy, it was full of grace and fighting, evoking the wonder of Canada ("a country to defy eternity") and a long litany of his stewardship's mistakes.

Listening to his version of the record that he carved in Canadian history over the past 16 years, it was hard not to be impressed. But it was also easy to see what had gone wrong. All Prime Ministers, even superior ones like Trudeau, have two distinct reputations: their popularity with the voting public and the professional prestige they carry with Ottawa's senior bureaucrats. Because he came into the national limelight so suddenly back in 1969, Trudeau made little impact on the federal mandarins before taking office. The electoral triumph that followed made him feel uneasy about his standing with the public that he became determined to spend most of his time in office consolidating his professional reputation. This, in turn, was partly to offset his public reputation as a political dilettante, unsure of people's everyday problems.

John Turner is the opposite. His professional reputation in Ottawa is secure, even though it dates back a decade. His time in Ottawa when Simon Newman was his deputy minister was probably the best partnership between a politician and senior mandarin in Ottawa history. That's why when he goes to the people to get a mandate, Turner will be concerned solely with his public reputation, trying to persuade Canadians that he can do the job better than Brian Mulroney.

He has for so many weeks been elevated to the position of prime minister-designate that some of the rumors about his intentions may even be true that he intends to call an election for Aug. 27, that he will act as his own minister of finance that he is on the hunt for a levy of high-profile candidates, that he will deregulate business and negotiate more free trade with the United States.

The keynote of last week's Liberal convention was probably sounded by Michael Brown, a campaign manager for John Roberts, who said as his candidate withdrew and walked bravely over to the Christian camp: "Newly. On Monday morning, we'll be off to Liberals..." —Amos



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ROYAL BANK

They were barely known in North America, but the Beatles were already electrifying British youngsters—and spawning their parents—in November, 1963. One fan was **Jeffrey Walker**, now a Vancouver entrepreneur but then a 22-year-old mop-top who reeks standing in line all night to buy tickets for a Beatles concert in his native Stockton on Don, England. That youthful fascination for the working-class lads from Liverpool has never left Walker. Currently, he earns his living from his Beatles Museum and two Beatles-oriented record stores. As a result, he was overjoyed when he discovered last February that the rooms that **John, Paul, Ringo** and **George** occupied in Miami Beach's posh Seaville Hotel, where they made their North American debut on *The Ed Sullivan Show* in 1964, were for sale. Walker paid \$47,570 for the ocean-front suite in which John and his first wife, **Cynthia**, stayed. He is redecorating the two-room suite with Beatles wallpaper, towels, soap and even a lamp from the Cavern, the Liverpool nightclub where the group got its start. The rest will be \$250 a night, and Walker says he expects no trouble auctioning against last "Already," he declared, "my old offering 's fan-freak thing in the

Walker: dealing with reality



Pub Four's Florida flat' have attracted several people in England who want to move in for the whole season."

It is a fact that the **San Francisco** Orchestra has had only seven resident conductors in its 102-year history, but currently many member musicians contend that they want to reverse the tradition of lifetime reign. The subject of their discontent, in the chairman's but notoriously tyrannical **Herbert von Karajan**, who has been their leader since 1955. A dispute between orchestra members and von Karajan became public last year when the conductor, 76, fired his protégé, 39-year-old chorist **Sabina Mays**, although the other musicians—who traditionally have the final say in the orchestra's personnel—had auditioned and rejected her. When Meyer's colleagues finally succeeded in goading her into resigning last month, von Karajan cancelled the orchestra's annual appearance at last week's Salzburg Winter concert and took his Vienna Philharmonic instead. Declared the maestro, with suitable pomp: "I will not be put under pressure."

The soon **Marlene** and **Redwener** enjoy on the wall helped to create the mood of an American deli, but the posters of show-business greats and the aroma of kishka and matzoh were distinctly those of Montreal's famed **Best's Delicatessen**, doing double duty last week as the set for a \$1.5-million **Claude-France** movie called *Parole d'homme* with **Catherine Deneuve** and **Cherise-Joy** (*Greynolds*). *The Legend of Tarzan* **Lebanon** Deneuve plays a talent agent caught in a money love triangle with singer **Lebanon** and her estranged husband (Canadian **Nick Mancuso**). Said Deneuve: "It is the dilemma of a modern woman, trying to manage life, work and children." The role is a marked departure for Deneuve, whose North American audiences know best for her slower still appearances in the 1983 *lover-fantasy* *Ein* *The Hunger* and in her *Chanel* perfume commercials. The veteran of almost 60 films is her 30-year career, Deneuve says that



Deneuve: a diva from planet-9 rules

she welcomes the switch. "After all," she said, "having to be beautiful and sexy all the time can be tiring."

The producers of *Countdown* in *Looking Glass*, a made-for-TV movie about events leading up to a nuclear war, made an inspired casting decision when they chose **Patrick Watson** to play television anchorman **Don Solis**. Watson, 64, is a widely renowned journalist and broadcaster. He is also founding director of the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament. For the past 18 months Watson has been traveling across the country, lecturing interested groups on the horror of the nuclear scenario. The former host of *Watson* to *Tomorrow*, Watson says he especially approves of the movie's highly realistic style and content. It includes scenes appropriate to American newsmen **Eric Sevareid** and **Wendy Dickerson** and behind-the-scenes technical advice from former White House policy adviser and war games specialist **Uncle Ben** **Sold** Watson: "I wonder how people are going to deal with the film because it comes so close to reality." But whatever the reactions, Watson added, "We cannot afford to go around having people up."

—EDITED BY DIANA MEYER



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Gregory Joffe and Dennis Spry. Joffe says you could drink it.

## ENVIRONMENT

# Dioxin goes to court

A 48, baby's Gregory of Pediatrics has not worked for four years, weakened by tumors and genetic disease which have forced him to undergo five operations. Gregory was one of about 200 young men who sprang a powerful defendant to fill breach along the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission's transmission lines in the 1950s and 1960s. Their supervisors told them that the defendant was "so safe you could drink it," Gregory contends, and sometimes the men would have water fights with their spray guns or hose themselves down in the heat. Since then at least 66 of those men have died, at ages ranging from 27 to 66, and many of the survivors, like Gregory, have suffered serious health problems, including heart attacks and cancer. This week the former defendant sprayers are launching a New Brunswick legal battle for compensation from the power commission and the defendant's manufacturer, Dow Chemical Ltd.

The defendant they used was a combination of the chemicals 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T containing small amounts of a dioxin compound, poorly the deadliest substances manufactured by man. Indeed, last month 15,000 Vietnam veterans in the United States who had been exposed to a similar defendant, Agent Orange, was a \$508-million out-of-court settlement from the chemical companies that made it. Protection lawyer Eugene Meckler, who is representing the New Brunswick sprayers, said he would in-

form the Court of Queen's Bench in New Brunswick this week that the sprayers agreed to take action against the power commission and Dow Chemical within 60 days. He said the sprayers may claim punitive as well as actual damages but added that there was not yet a dollar figure on the claim. "The U.S. settlement spurred further interest," said Meckler. "That we are sure the case they have in New Brunswick is valid, regardless of whether there was a settlement in the United States."

For its part, the New Brunswick power commission says that it is sympathetic to the former sprayers. But, added labor relations manager Larry Boudreau, no one has yet established a link between the chemicals and their illnesses. He said the sprayers' association has not considered that the men may have faced health hazards in jobs unrelated to the spray program. Boudreau said: "A man could have worked for 20 years in a coal mine for all they knew."

But Gregory added that New Brunswick sprayers have heard from people in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia. He said that the people who have contacted them report a high incidence of health problems after similar defoliation operations. Said Gregory: "No one knew about environmental hazards then. All they knew about was nuclear fallout, and if it was not atomic it was not dangerous."

—MICHAEL GOODMAN in Fredericton,

## A Garrison compromise

For almost 20 years the Garrison Diversion Irrigation project has been at the heart of an often bitter environmental dispute between Canada and the United States. In 2005 Congress approved the understanding, which would have diverted Missouri River water to the dry North Dakota farmland near the Manitoba border. But Manitoba and U.S. environmentalists have managed to block most of the project, concluding that it would pollute the Red River system, which flows into Manitoba, with parasites and chemicals. Now concerned Manitobans say that a new compromise proposal, which would eliminate the environmental threat entirely, may be reached. Declared provincial Natural Resources Minister Alvin Mackinnon optimistically: "I believe the tide in this long struggle is finally turning in Manitoba's favor. There is recognition of our concerns at last in the U.S. Senate."

The compromise emerged from days of intensive bargaining early this month between North Dakota Republican Senator Mark Andrews, a powerful proponent of Garrison, and leading U.S. environmental groups. The agreement calls for U.S. Interior Secretary William Clark to establish a 12-member commission, made up of environmentalists, North Dakota farmers and developers, to consider whether the \$1.2-billion project can be "redesigned and reauthorized." The two sides agreed that approved funding for Garrison of \$16 million in 1985 should be set aside until the commission, which Clark is to appoint in July, issues findings on possible alternatives.

From the outset many environmentalists have been concerned about possible harmful effects if the project diverted water from the Missouri River, which normally flows south to the Gulf of Mexico, to within yards of North Dakota rivers, which are part of the Hudson Bay drainage basin. They contend that seepage and overflow would be inevitable and that the Red River, whose surge swept Winnipeg, could be overtopped by man-made levee risks. Manitobans say they are now confident that the new commission will find an alternative to eliminate such risks. But as aide to Andrews made it clear that the two groups, least, eight of the 12 members must agree on an alternative irrigation plan by Dec. 31. Otherwise the controversial Garrison project will go ahead in its current form.

—JOHN McGOVERN, with Gary Blair in Winnipeg



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# VOLKSWAGEN



Kore, Macchio, Morita: Eastern sensibility and Western marketing strategy

## FILMS

# The formula for victory

### THE KARATE KID

Directed by John G. Avildsen

**T**he Karate Kid deals with the plight of Daniel (Ralph Macchio), a perceptive teenager who unwittingly moves with his mother to an apartment in California's San Fernando Valley. Already feeling uprooted, Daniel soon discovers when he befriends a girl, Ali (Elizabeth Shue), whose former boyfriend, Johnny (William Zabala), is a local karate champion. Johnny develops an obsessive hatred for the spunky, cocky Daniel and eventually uses him to demonstrate his martial prowess. At last the apartment superintendent, Mr. Miyagi (Noriyuki [Pat] Morita), takes pity on the boy. He begins to teach Daniel karate and to prepare him to enter the local karate tournament.

Chronicles the triumph of the underdog in a well-worn technique in recent film-making, and any film that follows the formula as loyally as *The Karate Kid* is likely to go the commercial distance. The most convincing scenes of *The Karate Kid* are those in which Miyagi teaches Daniel that spiritual awareness, rather than brute force, defines the art. Learning to trust Miyagi's seemingly unrelaxed directions, Daniel spends days watching the master's car. Then, in one marvelous sequence, the boy suddenly realizes that with slight modifications the efforts he is making could be karate moves. As he watches his hands, his face floods with astonish-

ment and joy. But director John G. Avildsen (Macchio) has been too calculating. At the date of the tournament—Daniel's showdown with Johnny and other members of a vicious rival karate school—approaches, both the insufferably wise Miyagi and the predictable plot of *The Karate Kid* strain the patience of its audience.

Long before that point the film's double standards are clear. While Miyagi preaches that fighting to win is not important, the competition-oriented movie does not leave that precept. When the master tells an immature Daniel not to behave like a girl, he displays a secure jealousy that seems misplaced in a character supposedly so wise. Miyagi's wartime background also seems incongruous in the script. A Japanese American, he fought against Germans and not his fellow Japanese. Meanwhile, the rival karate teacher (Martin Kove) is a grand Vietnam veteran, a new cliché which must trouble veterans, who rarely see themselves as normal human beings in current films.

*The Karate Kid* has moments of real charm, and it sensibly explores a young boy's awakening sense of confidence. But ultimately the film fails. Too often his thinking is maddening and his violent contradictions. Chief among them is the fact that *The Karate Kid* has tried to exploit an Eastern sensibility with the manipulative heavy-handedness of Western marketing strategy.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

# A journey into male intimacy

### UNE JOURNÉE EN TANT

Directed by Robert Ménéard

**I**n a society that makes a virtue of competitive individualism, genuine friendship seems rare in all forms. Indeed, it is only when the relentless drive toward success fails that true closeness is possible. Québecois director Robert Ménéard demonstrates that harsh truth in *Une Journée en Tant*, a sensitive and persuasive first film. *Journée* focuses on two lonely outcasts from the social mainstream: Michel (Jean YVES), a former accountant, is a Montreal cab driver mired in depression. Johnny (Gilles Samard), a penniless inmate free on a 30-hour pass, intends to kill River (Michael Parent), his former partner in crime. When Johnny buys Michel's cab, both men enter a strange, at times harrowing, rite of passage that creates an extraordinary bond of friendship and changes both their lives.

*Une Journée en Tant* is one of the few films that credits the viewer with patience and perception. Much of it takes place within the claustrophobic confines of Michel's cab. Beyond goes Johnny just the right edge of scarcely controlled violence. Watching the caddy from the back seat, he suggests the patience of a cornered animal. When Johnny reveals his mission of revenge, Michel quietly accepts his offer of \$200 for a day's use of his cab. He follows Johnny while the convict tracks down Steve, now working as a janitor. There is a disturbing passivity in Michel's actions, as well as the profound certainty of a man who seems to know that danger may hold the key to his deliverance. The sight of Johnny pointing his gun at Steve at last reveals Michel from his torpor, and he balks not so cavalierly, "Have a good look at him before you shoot." That first, penetrating moment of real contact between the two men opens the doors of redemption for them both. What follows is a long descent into spiritual intimacy as the two men drag each other out of their dark solitudes.

*Journée* has its flaws. Some of its attempts to make social commentary are too obvious, and at times the lush, jumpy sound track seems sentimentally flat for the most part, the film pulses with a quiet originality. The script is full of psychological observations, and the direction is elegantly understated. For a journey into uncharted regions of friendship and the male psyche, *Une Journée en Tant* is well worth the fare.

—JOHN HENNING



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## Montreal's urban brawl

Unseasoned bitterness and an assortment of particularly strange bedfellows have characterized an urban development dispute in Montreal. The controversy centres on the future of the grand McGill College Avenue in the city's downtown. A proposal by the Toronto-based real estate giant Cadillac Fairview to build a block-long shopping mall and a 50-screen office tower in the avenue threatened the long-held dreams of many Montrealers to turn the avenue into a tree-lined boulevard leading from the McGill University campus to the foot of Place Ville Marie in the city's business district. Lining up against the project were Montreal city council's opposition party—the Montreal Citizens Movement (MCM), the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, a loose coalition of environmentalists, small-business owners and urban planners.

The rallying point for the groups' attack on the project was Cadillac Fairview's plan to bridge the shopping mall and neighboring buildings with a four-storey, glazed-in pedestrian walkway. The opposition complained that the pro-



McGill College Avenue: cherished view

spergway would close McGill College Avenue to traffic and spoil the cherished view of Mount Royal from Ste. Catherine Street. At the same time, the coalition warned Cadillac Fairview's project to widen McGill College Avenue into Montreal's version of the Chicago Skyway. On June 6, after almost two months of bitter public debate, the coalition of pressure groups was able to extract significant concessions on Cadillac Fairview's design. Most notable was the repeal of the offending glass walkway. But the company failed to include plans to widen the avenue in its final proposals to Montreal's city council.

The dispute began at an April 17 city council meeting when Mayor Jean Drapeau startled councillors by announcing Cadillac Fairview's plan to begin building a \$400-million shopping centre in August. Cadillac Fairview designed the glass-and steel complex along the lanes of Vancouver's Pacific Centre and the Elton Centre in Toronto, but the Montreal project will also have a \$30-million concert hall for the popular Montreal Symphony Orchestra. Within days architects, small-shop owners, developers and the city's newspapers were expressing angry disapproval. Architects, too, damned the project. Said Derek Drummond, director of McGill University's school of architecture, "In one fell swoop the city has changed the ground rules for downtown development." The business community aimed its wrath at the city's abandonment of the street's grand boulevard tradition. The scene found an unlikely ally in the children of the late Samuel Bronfman, who, through their family trust, CIBC Investments, own 55 per cent of Cadillac Fairview. Daughter Phyllis Lambert is the founder of the powerful Heritage Montreal group, which was vehemently opposed to the proposed closing of the street.

But on June 6 Drapeau and his majority on the council made approval in principle of the revised project a mere formality. The final vote is expected on July 9. But the coalitionists did have a chance to interrupt Cadillac Fairview's creative vice-president James Ballack at city hall. Ballack's most convincing argument, and one that may eventually lessen public opposition to the plan, is that the project includes office and retail space with a permanent home for the orchestra, a concept that developers call a mixed-use project. Said Raymond Affleck, one of the project's architects: "Mixed-use planning is the answer of downtown." Even though the opposition groups were not totally satisfied—they still want to stop construction of another glass walkway crossing Mansfield Street at the other extremity of the project—for now, Montrealers have a project with which they can live.

—BRIAN WALLACE in Montreal

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## TECHNOLOGY

# The ceramics revolution



Miller: the new ceramics can be used in automobile engines and artificial teeth

Japanese industry has led the West in consumer electronics and automotive industry innovations for years. But now Japan is preparing to challenge Western manufacturers in the production of an even more vital commodity—high-technology ceramics, first developed by U.S. manufacturers for use in the space program. The material is lightweight, durable and heat resistant, and some experts predict that it will eventually replace metals such as steel in some areas of manufacturing. Researchers are developing new applications for the specialized material, which range from fuel-injected electrical batteries to a durable new component for making dentures. But the most revolutionary use of ceramics in the near future will be the introduction of the material as the main material in automobile engines.

The new ceramics are unlike the traditional clay-based pottery varieties. The material now being developed is made of alloys of such substances as titanium oxide, silicon carbide and silicon nitride, which scientists blend to meeting specifications and heat to temperatures of 3,000°C—twice the temperature needed to make pottery. The goal of the makers of the highly sophisticated technology is to produce a structural material that combines the strength of steel with the heat resistance of pottery. Indeed, the U.S. Na-

tional Aeronautics and Space Administration made a major research breakthrough in the early 1970s when it used ceramic technology to develop the heat-resistant tiles that cover the fragile underside of the space shuttle.

The development of prototype automobile engines in Japan has already caused concern in the United States. And in February a U.S. ceramics researcher told a congressional transportation subcommittee, "The Japanese government and industry have identified ceramics as a focused development for the 2000s." Added Richard Sprague, president of the American Ceramic Society, "There is ceramic fever in Japan."

The major drawback of ceramics is that engineers have been unable to solve the problem of brittleness. The material tends to crack under great stress and it is still expensive compared to traditional metals. Still, experts say that those problems can be solved, and the industry estimates that the worldwide demand for ceramic products this year is about \$4 billion and will exceed \$10 billion by 1990.

Manufactured parts for the medical and defense industries may provide two of the most lucrative markets for ceramic technology. One Canadian company is already developing ceramic devices for heart leads. Robert Miller, president of B. M. Hi-Tech, in Collingwood,

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By Nissan Chomsky  
(Black Rose Books, 147 pages, \$24.95)

**T**he *Fateful Triangle*, the most recent book by the noted American social critic and provocateur theorist Nissan Chomsky, purports to be an examination of Middle East politics. The book presents itself as a history of

the evolution of Israel, of U.S. aid to—and policies toward—the state and the fate of the Palestinian inhabitants of the Israeli-occupied West Bank. But far from being a calm evaluation of the situation, *The Fateful Triangle* is from first sentence to last a strident and caustic denunciation of both Israel and the United States. Chomsky, who is Jewish, characterizes the American as manipulator, interested in Israel solely as a geopolitical pawns to counter Soviet

influence in the oil-rich region. He sentimentally compares the Palestinians to displaced North American Indians. And tiny Israel, he argues, is not a David surrounded by giants, but a mighty Goliath.

At times, Chomsky's interpretation of events borders on the demonic and renders his work graceless, repetitive and harsh. Overlooking the Jews' historic pioneering for a homeland, Chomsky argues that the state of Israel only came into being because anti-Semitic Americans were reluctant to admit large numbers of refugees to their own country after the Nazi Holocaust. In his quest to paint his subjects in the darkest possible colors, Chomsky frequently contradicts himself, sometimes on the same page. In one paragraph he contends that there is no essential difference between Israel's two major political parties. Then, in the next paragraph he distinguishes between them, stating that "the Labor Alignment—more concerned with the democratic socialist image than Likud—has always been opposed to absorbing the Arabs of the occupied territories within the state proper." And in another sentence he characterizes as both "hypocritical" and "assimilated" the 1967 UN resolution that condemned Zionism as a form of racism.

Chomsky's scorching tone is unfortunate because he makes some valuable points. He convincingly demonstrates that the politically conservative Oriental Jews from Morocco and Libya are indeed transforming the nation from a European-style democracy into an intolerant, hellbent state. He paints a frightening picture of their silent response to their fellow Israelis' protest against the occupation of Beirut. And he quotes many other credible critics of the country's current policies, among them Amnon Rubinstein, former dean of the University of Tel Aviv Law School and member of the Knesset. Rubinstein declares that the government-sponsored activities of "extremist and racist elements" are making it "hard to distinguish between the Israeli fringe and the mainstream of our political life."

Chomsky insists that the only solution to the region's continuing strife is the establishment of a Palestinian state. But the tone of the book is so strident that a reader begins to suspect that Chomsky is less interested in the landless Palestinians than he is in his own racial righteousness. He even complains that Jacob Vinerman—author of *The Longest War* (1983), which criticized the Israeli invasion of Lebanon—was guilty of an excess of "balance." Chomsky's tirade suffers from no such defect. In the moral view of *The Fateful Triangle*, the Jews will be righteous once more when they are again the world's victims.

—NORMAN BENDER

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## The families of the victims of crime

In a departure from custom, an emotional Robert Savari and Pauline Brasseur stood in a Sherida, Ont., courtroom last March and described how the murders of their daughters, Kim Savari and Shelley Brasseur, had ruined their lives. The judge was about to sentence convicted murderer Richard Bonstrom, who had killed the two teenagers in August, 1993. And in May, 1994, in Edmonton, Jean Harty, the widow of murdered cab driver Fred

that the statements inject elements of hysteria and vengeance into the justice system. Senior county court Judge Gordon Kilgus of London, Ont., who accepts written reports but is strongly opposed to oral statements, said, "The whole justice system is an attempt to eliminate vengeance. If you allowed family members to dictate the sentence, they would take the defendants to the nearest tree, hang them and disembowel them."

financial distress they have suffered.

Judges' willingness to hear such statements indicates a recognition of recent emphasis on victims' rights. In the Bonstrom case a jury found Brasseur guilty of the second-degree murder of Kim Savari and Shelley Brasseur, which carries a life sentence. At the sentence hearing Ontario Superior Court Justice Coulter Osborne made him eligible for parole after 30 years. The judge told Marleen's that the parents' statements "did not influence me one way or the other. But in this case the least that could be done was to allow them to participate in the last act of the administration of justice."

Victim-impact statements are now in use in France and in some jurisdictions in the United States. But serious debate is under debate in Canada at both the federal and provincial levels. Last July a Canadian federal-provincial task force on justice for victims of crime recommended new legislation that would include victims' statements in the judicial process. Proposed legislation now under consideration states only that, where possible, judges should receive presentence reports containing information from an interview with the victim. For the victims themselves, having that chance to present their part of the story would be better than nothing. Said Donald Sullivan, head of an Ajax, Ont.-based victims' organization, Canadian Crime Victims Advocates: "We just want to embolden psychologically."

Some defense lawyers—the main opponents of victims' impact statements—maintain that the comments of all victims should be given equal weight and subject to cross-examination. Sullivan criticizes lawyer Alexander Pringle, for one, said that if courts responded to the impact of the crime rather than to the intent of the criminal, different people who commit the same offense could receive vastly different sentences.

But acceptance of the victim's place in the judicial system is spreading. Police departments in Calgary and London have made written victim-impact statements part of their routine. Victims now report everything from the psychological suffering they endured to the inconvenience of trips to the police station. Now victims' advocates hope that the limited recognition they have received from some police and courts will encourage legislation guaranteeing them a voice in the crime process from beginning to end. —ALAN WALMSLEY with Sharon Doyle Dwyer



Robert and Sandra Savari (left), Pauline and Charlene Brasseur: ruined lives

Harty, explained in a written submission to the court that she had endured headaches, tension and chest pains since her husband died after a beating in 1991. The statements were unusual because no level of Canadian government has yet passed legislation giving "victim-impact" statements a place in the trial process. But in recent months they have begun to play a role in trials—at the discretion of individual judges.

Still, while victims' families welcome the opportunity to express their grief and to challenge accusations laid against their loved ones during a trial, legal critics are concerned. Their fear is

Impact statements are still rare, but the few that Canadian judges have permitted in individual cases mark the most significant breakthrough so far in a campaign by victims, mainly of violent crimes, to participate more fully in criminal proceedings. Crown attorneys are responsible for informing the court about victims' plights. But Kilgus said that he and other judges sometimes have been annoyed that the information is sketchy. Proponents of victim-impact statements argue that victims of such crimes as assault and murder should have the opportunity to tell the court about the emotional, physical and

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# Healing with magic

For patients whose bodies are disabled by a stroke, accident or other debilitating injury, rehabilitation can often mean months of repetitive, frustrating physical exercise and therapy. But recently an unusual and innovative form of occupational therapy has renewed some of the optimism. Therapists have begun encouraging their patients to perform magic tricks to help them improve dexterity, co-ordination, memory skills and—perhaps most important—their self-esteem. Said Julie De Jean, assistant director of occupational therapy at David Freeman Center for Diagnostic and Rehabilitation Medicine in Inglewood, Calif. "Magic therapy is not for every patient, but because we have their interest, for those we use it with, it is much more effective than any other therapy."

American magician David Copperfield organized the technique. After corresponding with a young supernatural magician confined to a wheelchair, Copperfield approached the Freeman Center and asked about introducing magic into the prestigious

institute's rehabilitation program. In one of the project's first successes Copperfield taught an eight-year-old girl who had been paralyzed by a stroke how to perform a trick which involved manipulating an elastic band to give it the illusion of jumping through her fingers. In May, 1985, the 35,000-member

**Therapists are encouraging their patients to perform magic tricks to help improve their dexterity and self-esteem**

American Occupational Therapy Association endorsed the program.

Since the treatment began at the Freeman Center two years ago, therapists have begun using the system in more than 60 hospitals and nursing homes around the world. There are active programs in several Canadian centres including Edmonton and London,

Ont., and other programs are starting in Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal. Health workers across the program, which use volunteer magicians from the community, are designed to complement—not replace—traditional occupational therapy. Said Dennis Hish-Jones, co-director of occupational therapy at Edmonton's Glenora Hospital: "The magicians don't make the project. A combination of medical input and the expertise of the magician makes the project." The results are sometimes dramatic. Ernest Blus, 72, for one, a retired London, Ont. computer tape librarian, took up volunteer magic after his wife died seven years ago. He said that he taught several tricks to an elderly woman at London's Parkwood Hospital who had had long legs amputated. Although severely depressed by her condition, she responded quickly to the therapy and became enthusiastic about the prospect of tricking her grandson. Said the patient: "Now I'll be able to fool the little sucker." Added volunteer magician Kenneth Gerhardt, who acts as a magic therapist with a stroke recovery group in Calgary: "You get a tingie that goes through your whole body when you see the look on their faces." For patients whose afflictions have damaged their emotions as well as their bodies, it is a significant achievement.

—GOLDEN LINGER in Calgary

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## THEATRE

# Dark dreams and extravagant visions

By Mark Czarnecki

Artistic director John Hirsch's choice of Shakespeare's airy comedy *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was an appropriate one to open the 1986 Stratford Festival last week. Romantic fantasy and escapism dominate the season, which also includes the third Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, *Joan of Arc*, in so many years. The festival's fairyland atmosphere—flourished in \$140,000 worth of high-powered television commercials which urge viewers to "enjoy the spectacle of Stratford"—almost banishes concerns about its mounting deficit of \$1.7 million. But the cheerfulness is ill-founded, overall, the season's production are misapprehended and they cast doubt on whether the festival is in fact achieving its aims—not only to preserve classical theatre but to entertain and challenge as well.

Macdonald follows directly on director-choreographer Brian Macdonald's popular productions of *The Windsors* and *The Goodwives*, both of which brought new life to the dead Gilbert and Sullivan musical form. This year Macdonald has updated W.S. Gilbert's gentleman spoof of 19th-century British politics with topical references to Canada's Liberal leadership convention. With Canada Council Chairman Mervyn Partridge in a guest spot as the Queen of the Palace, cultural politics also get a riling. Macdonald does not spare the sacred duo of Gilbert and Sullivan either. His *Jenolan's* deliberately anachronistic choreography and vulgar sexual innuendo give the operetta a strong flavor of music hall burlesque. Despite the moments of beauty and raw heat, the ambitious production miraculously succeeds in celebrating that rare Canadian phenomenon—a warm feeling of shared culture.

The absurd story of Jenolan certainly invites some tinkering. The fairy Jenolan (Katharine Wright), has a son, Stephen (Paul Marshall), who is half fairy and half mortal—"From the waist down." Stephen ultimately unites the warring forces of faeries and men by becoming leader of both the Liberal and Conservative parties. Macdonald directs with his customary zeal, and the triumphal entrance of the peers, *Lord of the Trumpet Bay*, is a masterpiece in itself, worthy of the Wagnerian models it admires. But does not spare the hyper-dramatic, the complex score and the fact that Stratford is also reworking *The Windsors* and *The Goodwives* have

visibly enhanced its overworked performers. By the end of the operetta some of the in-jokes begin to sting, and the satirical references to Victorian and contemporary Canadian politics are occasionally confusing. Still, by joyously embracing its own pretensions as well as those of its audience, *Jenolan* is a fitting finale to Macdonald's spectacular involvement with Gilbert and Sullivan.

tion for training in classical drama. John Penner has redesigned the production with extravagant turn-of-the-century costumes and Langham has made the swirling action more snail and sedulous. Meanwhile, the director has drawn powerful comic censure from Nicholas Power at the Stratford schoolmaster, Holbrook, and Douglas Campbell as the lecherous groom, Conrad.



David Clark, Michelle Fink in *Venus*—a harpless shadow of her mounting problems

The sexy operetta reveals how become one of Stratford's two commercial staples. The other is Shakespeare's romantic comedies, and the best so far of this year's offerings is Michael Langham's sensitive production of *Love's Labour's Lost*. It has moved to the Festival Theatre after a successful run last year by Stratford's Young Company, namely Maria Bouslog and Joseph Taylor, have graduated with the production. *Love's Labour's Lost* marks an important advance in Hirsch's plans to make the youthful company a central institu-

Although the second act has boring stretches, the broadly showgirlish production glows with delicate feeling. It also provides a model of what the modest talents of the Young Company and the older actors can achieve. Other Young Company graduates appear to win advantage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Hirsch's highly personal view of the play stresses the harmful trials that the characters must endure on the road to self-realization. But the director fails to vary out his vision and he forces the cast to wrench implausible meanings from Shakespeare's text. Penner, in the double role of the Athenian

Duke Thomas and the fairy king Oberon, your black hair over them which should be tender and lyrical. By contrast, Desmond Heeley's flashy, superficial costumes and scenes set completely blunt the edge of Hirsch's spiritual aspirations. Still, those *As You Like It* moments prevent him from missing Canada's East-coast comic actors from maintaining the vitality of Shakespeare's low-life scenes.

A welcome reprieve from Hirsch's tightness is Peter Dink's passionate, hard-edged production of *Romeo and Juliet*. Working with David Walker's exquisite Renaissance costumes and Harry Frelmer's subtle lighting, Dink lays bare the body politics that grow birth to, and then devour, the doomed adolescent lovers. Trapped in the blind paternal blood feud between the Capulets and the Montagues, the women, especially Patricia Connolly as Lady Capulet, struggle to protect their tiny portion of female gentleness. Herein these rustic Romans of Verona's treachery, self-conscious Juliet blooms into a woman only to be cut down prematurely.

Dink's success is all the more astonishing because so many of the roles are miscast or badly played. Elizabeth Leach-Hill is an unpleasantly young Nurse, Richard Manette is a plodding Mercutio, and Colin Fennel never strikes fire as Romeo. But Susan Austin-Olsen as Tybalt, "The Prince of Cats," leads the stage with robust energy. And the fight scene under the direction of Bill Bony—his best Stratford has seen in years—was vital to Dink's convincing portrait of a noble tragedy.

Of all the opening productions, *Romeo and Juliet* is the only one with enough rough edges to truly excite audiences. At the Third Stage the 1984 Young Company trudges through a Jarryish pastiche version of Shakespeare's early comedy, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. And in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, veteran Edward Alton and Brian Bedford plumb the depths of their acting talent to little avail in Lee Rubin's facile, unfocused production. The difficulties with individual works only underscore the festival's more fundamental problems—poor programming and an insufficient number of capable, inspired directors. Heading the march to guarantee a healthy box office, Hirsch has presented nine romantic comedies in three years. The similarity of these occasionally produced plays has blurred them in memory. And without the necessary learning of lesser-known and riskier works, even traditionally safe plays lose their drawing power. Only by taking greater creative chances will the festival retain the interest and excitement that 20 years ago transformed a provincial stage into a world-class theatre. ☐

## DANCE

# Triumphs in the East

As it performs throughout the Far East, Maestras Les Grands Ballets Canadiens is accomplishing a stunning triumph: taming the ire of the critics. But in undertaking the most extensive Asian expedition ever by a Canadian performing arts group, the troupe is also encountering its share of exotic hazards. Arriving last week in Tokyo, the midpoint of their 69-day tour, the 46-member company had already braved giant cockroaches in some hotels, an earthquake in Shanghai, noisy swallows nesting in Singapore's Victoria Concert Hall and predictable encounters with stomach ailments. Still, with solid success, it is clear that the tour is a diplomatic triumph. According to Shanghai's *New People's Journal*, the work is "a symphony for the eyes."



As First: celebrating

The current program reflects Les Grands' 20-year history of capturing both international dancing trends and Quebec traditions. It includes *Ten Yi Dances*, Canadian choreographer Brian Macdonald's contemporary folk dance ballet set to the music of Quebecois composer Gilles Vigneault, and avant garde works set to electronic music. But the program also underscores the versatile company's ability to adapt to the tastes of its audiences. In May the troupe opened in Peking with the mass-entertained *And Ribbon Dance*—the first time that a Western ballet company has performed the work of a Chinese choreographer.

Then, on June 2, in Bangkok, Les Grands performed *Credibility Show*, a collaboration between the company's gifted dancer-choreographer, Anna Kotelnik, and Thailand's symphony-playing composer king, Bhanpichit Anulyaksak.

Still, the company's stylistic diversity has not protected it from the risk of culture clash. Before the tour began, Chinese officials objected to a male nude dance in Kotelnik's *sculpture in Paradise*, and the company agreed to substitute prima ballerina Annette as Paul in one of the roles. But in Peking an audience down with fire. After warm applause greeted the performance of her replacement, Edward Helmer, Michel Gosselin, Canadian ambassador to China,

commented, "The company has done more to further ties with Canada than I have in my last years."

That was a welcome comment in the Quebec and federal governments, which funded a third of the tour's total cost. Tour organizers expect the troupe to recover the balance with revenues from ticket sales and from the sale of film rights to the National Film Board—an 180-minute accompanying film is making a *feature* documentary. That film will record the last performance of av Paul, 46, who plans to retire when the tour ends in Seoul on July 15. If the South Korean reception matches the accolades that Les Grands Ballets' tour has greeted so far, it will mark the triumphant conclusion to both a distinguished dancer's career and the talented ensemble's exhausting but exhilarating journey to the East.

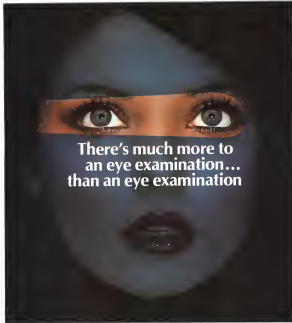
—ELIZABETH MILES in Tokyo

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

- Fiction**
- 1 The Age of Innocence, Edith Wharton
  - 2 The Day After Tomorrow, Michael Ondaatje
  - 3 Dances of the Moon, Robert Bly
  - 4 Fall Creek, Steele
  - 5 The Leopard Hunter in Darkness, Smith
  - 6 The Walking Drum, L. A. Smith
  - 7 Pollock, Malcolm
  - 8 Land of the Dances, Greville
  - 9 Pet Sematary, King
  - 10 The New Kid Williams, Williams

- Nonfiction**
- 1 Weapons, Jones
  - 2 Sex and Society, Greville
  - 3 The March of the Robins From Troy in Vietnam, Tuckman
  - 4 Eat to Win, Allen
  - 5 Knock West, Brown
  - 6 The Game, Greville
  - 7 Post-Industrial, Collins
  - 8 Blood Sweet Home, Heller
  - 9 Current, New
  - 10 Second Wind, Second Book, Walker

(1) Position last week



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# A leader from all regions

By Allan Fotheringham

There is a real danger in John Napier Turner. He just might succeed in sucking British Columbia into Confederation. Lotus Land, where the native fever is the hot ink, has never supplied Canada with a Prime Minister. Our new Man from Glad will qualify as the closest thing to it since David Fulton and Francis Siskind, the previous prime candidates, didn't make it. Turner is truly the Rennie Man, a man who magically separates his parts and has them clanking brightlight in practically every region of the country, if not the Commonwealth.

He was born in England, raised as a boy in Ottawa, went to university in British Columbia, married into a proper Whaling family, practiced law in Montreal, held an Ottawa seat and has been collecting directorships like lives in a high Toronto corporate tower at the foot of Bay Street, where the windows are festooned with gold filigree while the masses, as Eugene Whelan tells us, "often have to go without curfew." This very thing Turner lacks is a dog whose bleat is peddled as he travels to a small airport in the Maritimes. Central Casting could not come up with a better computer simulation, even with sperm implant.

Turner, as the country and the soapbox media will find out, is a bundle of contradictions. A macho jock who still in 1984 seems to come out of some 1960s version of *Animal House*, he is surprisingly reserved in his personal ways. That accounts for the pump-in-laborer fraternity approach, someone whose seal of meeting every stranger resembles a teenage George H.W., not someone gassing from every pore. But he's intensely private, a man who is fearful of losing down his guard, which accounts for that George Bush-machine-gun delivery and the bristling presence that moved Keith Spier to describe his early leadership seminar as "Kirk Douglas on speed."

He's a man who can be so insensitive as an (in)field at Oxford, where he was a 1960s Fotheringham in a colonel's fur Southern Hemisphere.

Rhodes Scholar, indicates Turner was a sprinter on the Oxford track team (a former Canadian 100-yard record holder) and he felt he needed his parents in mid-shorter postwar Britain. So, according to his roommate at the time, he had stolen down in from Canada and "never shared a crumb." But the report about his modest background is a myth. Rustan Canadian Olympic officials, going by the rule book, insisted that he had to participate in the Canadian track and field championships to qualify for the 1962 Olympics. Turner couldn't afford to fly back from Oxford and missed



the Olympic Games. He has always settled inwardly at the press inference that he was born rich, as was Pierre Trudeau, and proudly asserts that he has always lived on the money he earned himself.

He is our fourth foreign-born Prime Minister and almost certainly the only one the son of a journalist. But his father died when he was 8, and he does not remember him. His stepfather, the late industrialist Frank Ross, who was a B.C. lieutenant-governor, came into his inheritance, and there was no great inheritance. His aging mother, who Turner serves as "son of the first feminist," is in a nursing home on Salgus Island in British Columbia. His two youngest sons are in that quasi-annual apprenticeship facility of Upper Canada College, his eldest son just graduated from there, and his daughter is at Stanford in California.

Turner, as does anyone who becomes leader of the Liberal party of Canada (Jetta there MacKenzie King, tells there

Pierre Trudeau) is a malleable creature, made of clay for the reinsurers who will go through. As a trendy young politician of the 1960s Turner was the first minister of a new department called Consumer and Corporate Affairs. Ralph Nader had just been invented. Consumerism was the hot new issue and it was becoming the rage of the continent. Pushed by reformist sides, Turner brought in some quite radical legislation and frightened the pants off the big food chains for one—at least temporarily. Now, he nervously declined while running for the highest office of his land to renege his directorships in Seagram, Canadian Pacific, Holt, Renfrew, MacKay-Ferguson and the rest—while accepting on Saturday the leadership challenge of Dr. Mark MacGuigan, who, while a law professor, had to ask a student in parentheses what an "out" cheque was.

The new man will truly work the Prairie and the panning B.C. landscape that so perplexed Trudeau. His "gruff" on the parade, Manitoba language treaty, was no staff at all, but a very carefully crafted obsequiousness as to give hope to

"the semi-literate" throughout Western Canada that a Quebec secession was longer had the only answer.

He is an essentially cautious man, one trained to politeness, armed at high things and taught always to respect one's elders. His strength—a man who has lived almost everywhere in Canada—is also his weakness. Since he has no own system of roots, one can never determine what his exact philosophy is, where he comes from intellectually, from what region has submerged passions come.

Trudeau scored a province but transcended a party because he was obsessed with one region, one culture, one language and proved confederation. Turner, who is the end was because he positively outwitted his enemy for nine years, has not an easily discernible interest. Perhaps it is because, the most Liberal leaders, he is another example of the malleable clay that will be moulded and shaped to fit the constantly changing 1980s.



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